



SOCIAL AND RURAL ECONOMY
OF
NORTHERN INDIA

Cir. 600 B.C.—200 A.D.

VOL. II

BY
ATINDRANATH BOSE, M.A., PH.D.



UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
1945



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PREFACE

More than three years have passed since the publication of the first volume. The reasons for the delay are too obvious to need explanation. New materials on the subject must have appeared during this interval. I fully realise that there was scope for correction and improvement in both the volumes. But as a Security Prisoner I had no access to necessary material nor to any useful help. Readers will kindly accept this apology for errors and omissions.

As in the earlier volume my thanks are due to the journals which published much of the contents of this book, to the C. U. Press which printed this through the most painful and difficult times, to friends and professors who helped and encouraged me, particularly to Profs. H. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. and B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit., for whose kindness I have no words.

RAJSHAHI CENTRAL JAIL,

July, 1945.

ATINDRANATH BOSE

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 sāyaniyam Uttarakurusankāsam sampanna-sassam Ālaka-
 mandā viya devapuram

Milindapañho, p. 1 f.

There is in the country of the Yonakas a great centre of trade, a city that is called Sāgala, situated in a delightful country well-watered and hilly, abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods. Wise architects have laid it out, and its people know of no oppression, since all their enemies and adversaries have been put down. Brave is its defence, with many and various strong towers and ramparts, with superb gates and entrance archways; and with the royal citadel in its midst, white-walled and deeply moated. Well led out are its streets, squares, cross-roads and market places. Well displayed are the innumerable sorts of costly merchandise with which its shops are filled. It is richly adorned with hundreds of alms-halls of various kinds; and splendid with hundreds of thousands of magnificent mansions, which rise aloft like the mountain peaks of the Himalayas. Its streets are filled with elephants, horses, carriages and foot passengers, frequented by groups of handsome men and beautiful women, and crowded by men of all sorts and conditions, brāhmaṇas, nobles, artificers and servants. They resound with cries of welcome to the teachers of every creed, and the city is the resort of the leading men of each of the different sects. Shops are there for the sale of Benares muslin, of Koṭumbara stuffs, and of other cloths of various kinds, and sweet odours are exhaled from the bazars, where all sorts of flowers and perfumes are tastefully set out. Jewels are there in plenty, such as men's hearts desire, and guilds of traders in all sorts of finery display their goods in the bazars that face all quarters of the sky. So full is the city of money, and of gold and silver ware, of copper and stone ware, that it is a very mine of dazzling treasures. And there is laid up there much store of property and corn

and things of value in warehouses—foods and drinks of every sort, syrups and sweetmeats of every kind. In wealth it rivals Uttarakuru, and in glory it is as Ālakamandā, the city of the gods.

CHAPTER I

THE CITY

City-building among non-Aryans and Aryans. Growth of urban settlements. Science of town planning, the *vāstupidyā* and the *śilpaśāstra*. Divisions of the science.

Origin of cities. Growth from one village; amalgamation of several villages. Advantage of natural resources; important trade routes; strategical and sanitary importance; sea coast, places of pilgrimage and seats of learning. Military necessity. Traces of origin in city plan.

The planned city. Principles observed in planning. Solidarity and entity of the city. Difficulties of expansion.

The six great cities. (1) Campā, (2) Rājagaha, (3) Sāvatti, (4) Sāketa (Ayodhya), (5) Kosāmbi, (6) Bārāṇasi, (7) Vesālī, (8) Mithilā, (9) Kapilavastu, (10) Ujjeni, (11) Takṣaśilā—history, natural advantages, remains and plan, (12) Puṣkalāvati, (13) Kampilla, (14) Dantapura, (15) Mathurā, (16) Dwārakā—plan, (17) Indraprastha, (18) Śākala, (19) Pāṭaliputra—history, description, (20) Tosali, (21) Śrinagari, (22) Kānyakubja, (23) Nālandā, (24) Pāṭala.

The townships. Seaports. (25) Kōrūka, (26) Bhārūkaccha, (27) Surparaka, (28) Barbaricum, (29) Tāmralipta.

Social significance of city plan. Medium of artistic, religious and national expression. Educative force.

Long before Aryan migration, the non-Aryan settlers of India specialised in city-building. Remains of their art are seen in Mahenjo-daro and Harappa with characteristically modern amenities like masonry drains and regular streets and baths. The Aryans were primarily an agricultural and pastoral people but whether they had come or not from the cities of Mesopotamia and Iran, they might not have been strangers to the city life. Without being good builders they could not possibly conquer the land from the original settlers who knew the use of fortified cities. Hence though Vedic and Brāhmanical cultures are essentially

City-building—non-Aryan and Aryan.

rural, a natural consequence of the consolidation of the Aryan tribal system into large states and kingdoms was the growth from the village

settlements into large cities planned on the same principles in which the different village units clustered around the royal palace or citadel. The Epics present a large number of cities in the reader's horizon, dotted all over northern India from Assam to Afghanistan. When Megasthenes visited India "the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision" (Arrian, X). The Indian tract alone subdued by Alexander is reported by his companions to have contained as many as 5,000 towns, none less than Cos. (Pliny, VI. 17).¹

The science of town-planning is so ancient in India that its origin is lost in antiquity. The treatise on *vāstuvidyā* and *śilpasastra*, the *Mānasāra*, the *Mayamata*, the *Yuktikalpataru*, the *Devi-Purāṇa* and works on political science like the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Śukraniti* all testify to its remote origin. The patronymic *Viśvakarmā*—the architect divine, apotheosised master-builders like *Maya*, *Tvaṣṭar* and *Manu*, the mythological genealogies attributed to them,² the position of the master-builder as high-priest or sacrificial expert, all confirm the supposition.³ These and the position of the expounders of the science also prove that the social status of the civic architect was not low. The *Mayamata* avers that blue blood ran in his veins (*abhijātavān*)⁴

¹ The list was probably compiled from hearsay including every township or defensive outpost raised to hold the surrounding area in check.

² *Viśvakarmāprakāśa*, Ch. I.

³ Some of the metal workers and carpenters of South India still retain the epithet 'ācārya' as their caste distinction. See Havell : *Aryan Rule*, p. 128.

⁴ It is suggested that he descended in social estimation at least in the time of the *Mahābhārata* since *Maya*, the builder of *Yudhiṣṭhira*'s council house is spoken of as a *dānava* being a non-Aryan : this possibly implies that the science having deteriorated among the Aryans there was a lack of competent experts among them. The supposition is far-fetched. The non-Aryans being more advanced in the technique an expert of their race might well be summoned in preference to one from the Aryan stock. See B. B. Datta : *Town Planning in Ancient India*, p. 14.

The subject of town-planning is discussed under certain heads in the *Mānasāra* and the *Mayamata* which signify its perfection. These are (a) examination of soil (*bhūparikṣā*), (b) selection of site (*bhūmisamgraha*), (c) determination of directions (*dikpariccheda*), (d) division of the grounds into squares (*padavinyāsa*), (e) the offerings (*valikarmavidhāna*), (f) planning of villages and towns (*grāmavinyāsa*, *nagaravinyāsa*), (g) buildings and their different storeys (*bhūmividhāna*), (h) construction of gateways (*gopuravidhāna*), (i) construction of temples (*maṇḍapavidhāna*), (j) construction of royal palaces (*rāja-veśmavidhāna*). It will be noted that the construction of *Dvārāvātī* under the direction of *Kṛṣṇa* answers to these plans and procedures (*Devi-P.*, *Viṣ. P.*, ch. 58).

Treatment of the subject.

The towns were generally grown out of villages. The plan of the Indo-Aryan town fairly reproduces on a grander scale the plan of the village. Thus the terms *gāma* and *nigama* are often indifferently used. The following story about the origin of the Kuru city of *Kammāsadamma* is illuminating. "He (*Bodhisatta*) had a vast lake constructed near the Banyan tree and transported thither many families and founded a village. It grew into a big place supplied with 80,000 shops. And starting from the farthest limits of its branches he levelled the ground about the roots of the tree and surrounded it with a balustrade furnished with arches and gates; and the spirit of the tree was propitiated. And owing to the fact of the village having been settled on the spot where the ogre was converted, the place grew into the *nigama* of *Kammāsadamma*" (*Jāt. V.* 511). The difference between a *gāma* and a *nigama* is thus one of degree.

Origin of cities :
1. From expansion of villages.

plan of the Indo-Aryan town fairly reproduces on a grander scale the plan of the village. Thus the terms *gāma* and

A self-contained village with a surrounding wall was not of course likely to undergo urban transformation. More possibly the cities grew out of several hamlets originally clustering around a market place.¹ Or from the advantages of some natural resources,—a mine, a bed of flint, a layer of clay, a village might specialise in an art and acquire more than local importance.² More frequently, villages on trade routes soon flourished into cities. The earliest Indo-Aryan settlements were planted on the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges which were the great arteries of commerce in Northern India. The riparian cities had moreover great advantage from military and sanitary points of view. Important connexions of overland routes had more commercial facilities. Hence villages and towns are said to be situated on the cross-section of numerous paths and bye-paths (Dn. XIII. 10). The city of Taxila, it will be seen, was favoured with all these advantages. Such a town with the additional favour of a sea-coast obtained the designation of *pattana* or seaport which is defined as “a town abounding in articles imported from other islands alive with all classes of people, a land of commercial transactions in the shape of sale and purchase, replete with jewellery, precious stones, money, silk cloths, perfumery and the like, situated in the vicinity of a sea-coast.”³ It is important to note that these littoral settlements are referred to as *pattana-gāma* in the Jātakas carrying an older tradition. In course of time when they became full-fledged sea-ports serving as thriving

¹ Cf. the cities of Saptagrāma or Satraon, Caturgrāma or Chittagong, Pentalpolis or ‘five cities’ (Ptolemy, 2. 2). Mark also the suffixes in modern city names like Cox’s bazar, Bagerhat, Lalmanirhat, Narayanganj, Raniganj, etc.

² Cf. Golconda with its diamonds, Agra with its marble works, Dacca with its silk and so on, and modern factory towns like Jamshedpur, Asansol, etc.

³ Mayamata, 10. 55-57. In popular parlance a river port also is *pattana*. Jāt. 1. 121.

outlets for foreign transactions, the *gāma* was dropped and they became cities *par excellence* (panyapattana ; Arth. II. 16).

A divine sanctuary or a sage's nook sometimes became the nucleus of urban settlements. With the ingress of pilgrims and students, shops and resthouses were in demand. Gradually a magnificent sacred city or university town came into being, possibly chosen later for the seat of government by secular authority.¹

But Indo-Aryan cities like the Anglo-Saxon boroughs of old arose primarily out of a military necessity. To resist invasions or to consolidate conquests it was incumbent to build fortified outposts at important strategic points linking together the military roads maintained by the state. Because of constant internecine warfare, it was hard for a purely commercial town to exist. Hence every town was protected by walls fitted with watch-towers and girdled with ditches. The gates were closed at night and sentries kept post throughout the day. In the Vedic literature the word for the city is 'pur' which means 'fort' or 'rampart.' In the Arthaśāstra a city appears with the appellation of *durga*, i.e., 'difficult to penetrate,' fortified with strong defence and other arrangements to resist attack. Its description in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, Kāmandakīya Nīṭisāra and the Arthaśāstra is strikingly like that of a military encampment. The city of Pāṭaliputta was originally built by Ajātasattu to resist the powerful Vajjis (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta). The city fort was surrounded by a number of suburbs (Jāt. VI. 330 f.) where the kings and the high officials repaired when they wanted to take a pleasure jaunt.

¹ Cf. Kanchi and Taxila.

These different circumstances of their origin explain the diversity in character of Indian cities. There were *pattanas* or sea-ports. There were *nigamas* or market towns situated on trade-routes.¹ There were *vihāras* or university towns, temple cities, forts with bastions and battlements termed *durga*. A medley of other names are given in the *śilpaśāstras*, viz., *nagara*, *rājadhānī*, *kheṭa*, *kharvaṭa*, *śivira*, *senāmukha*, *skandhāvāra*, *sthānīya*, *dronamukha*, *kotmakolaka* and so on. The cities also varied in shape—square or rectangular, circular or elliptic, lotus-like or bow-shaped each having technical appellations for its variety, and each with the peculiar planning of streets and distribution of public places and buildings.²

Thus quite promiscuously, village settlements might outgrow their rural framework and attain to urban importance. Despite their natural growth, at certain stages they underwent the skill of a scheming technician. For example, to provide for increasing population and traffic, to improve the defences and broaden the streets, the ruler had to call for the civic engineer (*sthapati*). Besides there are detailed instructions laid down in the *śilpaśāstras* and concrete instances in other literature, of cities founded with a deliberate planning at the very inception. The rules for the guidance of the builder demanded the preparation of maps indicating density of population in different parts, allocation of sites for castes and professions, distribution of residential, business and industrial areas, of parks and squares with space. When improving or extending existing towns he has to make his project without violently dislocating the existing order and with a

¹ Literally, 'nigama' means a 'trade-route.'

² See Dutt : Town Planning in Ancient India, Chs. VIII, XI.

consideration for temples, buildings and water-works of importance. As soil specialist he has to survey the ground for its fertility, solidity and mineral resources; if the city is on river or on sea he has to study the probability of diluvion or erosion. He has to survey general traffic, sewage and water-supply, strategic points of offence and defence, folks in the neighbourhood, trees and plants suitable for culture and verdal beautification and all possibilities for the sanitation and aesthetics of the city. This would meet the demands of current political concepts. The capital ought to have the advantages of the hills, plains and seas, command vegetable, animal and mineral resources and be a centre of quick commercial activity. It should be on river bank if not on sea-shore, surrounded by walls (prākāra) and ditches (parikhā) with four gates in four directions, provided with wells, tanks and pools, good roads and parks in roads, and well-constructed taverns, temples and inns for travellers (Śukranīti, I. 425-33). This is not an idealistic utopia but clearly recalls the numerous city descriptions given in Pali and Sanskrit works. Indian architecture further lays down technical instructions as to road-making, *e.g.*, that they should be like the back of a tortoise, *i.e.*, high in the middle and sloping towards the sides where they are provided with drains and that they should be regularly watered and gravelled and repaired every year (I. 531- 37).¹

The real was not at all out of this standard. The lay-out of Indian cities from the far off Śākala in the Punjab to the distant Campā in Anga is realistically set forth in popular stories with minute details.

¹ The necessity of watering roads and keeping them clear was fully realised. The streets of Ayodhyā were regularly watered. Dropping filth on king's highroad is to be fined with 2 kārṣāpaṇas and the filth immediately removed by the offender. Manu, IX. 282.

“ Just as the architect of a city, when he wants to build one, would first search out a pleasant spot of ground, with which no fault can be found, even with no hills or gullies in it, free from rough ground and rocks, not open to the danger of attack. And then when he has made plain any rough places there may still be on it, he would clear it thoroughly of all stumps and stakes, and would proceed to build there a city fine, and regular, measured out into suitable quarters, with trenches and ramparts thrown out around it, with strong gateways, watch towers and battlements, with wide squares and open places and junctions (where two roads meet) with clean and even highroads, with regular lines of open shops, well-provided with parks and gardens and lakes and lotus ponds and wells, adorned with many kinds of temples to the gods, free from every fault And in course of time that city might become mighty and prosperous, filled with stores of food, peaceful and glorious, happy, free from distress and calamity, the meeting place of all sorts and conditions of men. Nobles, Brāhmaṇas . . . all these coming to take up their residence there, and finding the new city to be regular, faultless perfect and pleasant.....”

Yathā..... nagaravaḍḍhakī nagaram māpetukāmo paṭhamam tāva samam anunnatam-anonatham asakkharapāsānam nirupaddavam-anavajjam ramanīyam bhūmibhāgam anuviloketvā yam tattha visamam tam samam kārapetvā khāṇukaṇṭakam visodhāpetvā tattha nagaram māpeyya sobhanam vibhattam bhāgaso mitam ukkinṇa-parikhapākāram dāḷha-gopur-aṭṭāla-koṭṭakam puthu--caccara-catukkasandhi singhātakam suci-samatala-rājamaggam suvibhatta-antarāpanam ārām-uyyana-talāka-pokkharanī-udapāna-sampannam bahuvidha-devaṭṭhāna-patimaṇḍitam sabba-dosavirohitam.....
atha tam nagaram apareṇa samayena iddham bhaveyya pḥitam subhikkham khemam samiddham sivam anītikam nirupaddavam nānājana samākulam..... tam nagaram

vāsaya upagatā nānāvisayino janā navam suvibhattam
adosam-anavajjam ramaṇīyam tam nagaram passitvā.....
(Mil. 330 f; cf. 34, 1 f.)

The city of Indraprastha laid out by Maya for the sons of Pāṇḍu, the city of Dvārāvātī reconstructed by Viśvakarmā under the orders of Śrīkṛṣṇa are concrete instances of such planned cities which were no promiscuous growth.

Another picture gives :

“Behold..... a city furnished with solid foundations and with many gateways and walls and with many pleasant spots where four roads meet. Pillars and trenches, bars and bolts, watch-towers and gates.....

“See various types of birds in the roads under the gateways.....

“See a marvellous city with grand walls, making the hairs stand erect with wonder, pleasant with banners upraised, and with its sands all of gold,—see the hermitages divided regularly in blocks, and the different houses and their yards, with streets and blind lanes between.

“Behold the drinking shops and taverns, the slaughter house and cooks’ shops and the harlots and wantons..... the garland weavers, the washermen, the astrologers, the cloth merchants, the gold-workers, the jewellers.

“Crowds are gathered here of men and women, see the seats tiers beyond tiers..... See the wrestlers and the crowd striking their doubled arms, see the strikers and the stricken.....” (Jāt. VI. 276.)

The walls and ditches of the city with its belt of stately trees presented the town a solidarity and
Municipal extension. corporate entity and prevented the mushroom growth of clumsy outskirts about them. But these defensive works stood on the way of easy expansion. This might be one of the subsidiary reasons which led to the later exclusion of the untouchables and pariahs outside the city gate. The commonest method of town extension,

as in the case of Dvārāvati, was to dismantle the old walls, fill up the moats and erect a new boundary. As this was expensive and laborious, sometimes a ward or sub-town was built adjoining the wall of the main city which occasionally equalled in eminence or even eclipsed the original one. The city of Puri is supposed to have once possessed such a sub-town the ruins of which are still existing. Kāveripaddinaṃ is said to have been originally divided into the two parts of Maruvur Pakkam and Paddini Pakkam.¹ Giribbaja and Rājagaha probably offered a similar instance.

At the time of Buddha, the six great cities of India (that is to say, the provinces which are now the United Provinces and Bihar) enumerated in contrast to a *khuddakanagara* or *sākhānagara* were Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatti, Sāketa, Kosāmbi and Bārāṇasi which were in Ānanda's estimation proper places to receive his Lord at the time of *nibbāna* (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta).

Campā was the capital of Anga, the country to the east of Magadha. Its site is discovered at modern Bhagalpur. It lost its independence to Magadha under Bimbisāra which appears to have never been regained. According to Hemchandra's *Sthavirāvali* and *Parīśiṣṭaparva*, after Bimbisāra's death Ajātasatru made Campā his capital, but his son shifted to the newly built city of Pāṭaliputra (Canto VI). In the *Anuśāsanaparva* it is said that the city was surrounded by groves of Campaka trees (42). The *Jātakas* represent it as equipped with gates, watch-towers and walls (*dvāraṭṭālakapākāra*, VI. 32). Hiuen Tsang witnessed these walls and the vestiges of the mound on which they stood are still existing surrounded by a ditch on three sides and by the Ganges in the north. It

¹ V. Kanakasabhai Pillai : *The Tamils 1800 years ago*, pp. 24 f.

was a sacred place for both the Buddhists and the Jains. The Buddhist works mention an artificial lake excavated by Queen Gaggarā with groves of Campaka trees on its banks where wondering monks used to reside in the time of Buddha. It appears as a flourishing city in the Jaina work Campaka-śreṣṭhi-kathā which enumerates among the castes and crafts of the town—perfumers, spice-sellers, sugarcandy-sellers, jewellers, tanners, garland-makers, carpenters, goldsmiths, weavers, washermen, etc.¹ In the Daśakumāracarita, Campā is seen abounding in rogues.

Rājagaha, modern Rājgir, was in Buddha's time not only the capital of Magadha but the spiritual metropolis of India. Innumerable folk-

2. Rājagaha.

lores, personal reminiscences of Buddha and his faithfuls, and spiritual discourses are associated with this place in the canon. It comprised of the hill fortress of Giribbaja surrounded by five hills and the later town of Rājagaha proper built by Bimbisāra at its northern foot. According to the Mahābhārata the old Rājagrha or Giribrajapura was ruled by the legendary king Jarāsandha (II. 21) who was killed by Bhīma in a hefty duel. The fortifications of Giribbaja and Rājagaha, still extant, are $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 miles respectively in circumference.

Sāvatti, in Buddha's time was capital of Kosala under king Pasenadi. It is identified by

3. Sāvatti.

Cunningham with Sabeth Maheth on the Nepal border on the banks of the Rapti then known as Aciravati. It is traditionally associated with a great many Buddhist legends and folk-tales. Out of the 498 Jātakas 416 are said to have been recounted by Buddha at this place. The famous lay devotee Anāthapiṇḍika hailed from here and here he purchased the Jetavana where a *vihāra* was built. As the birthplace of two Tirthankaras, the place

¹ MM. Haraprasad Sastri : Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts.

was sacred to the Jainas too as Candrikāpurī or Candrapurī. It was a great emporium whence caravan started with 500 cartloads of wares (Jāt. IV. 350).

Sāketa was another important Kosala city and sometimes its capital (Mahāvastu, I. 348 ; Jāt. III. 270). Its site has been discovered in the Unao district of Oudh. Its identification with Ayodhya is doubted by Rhys Davids, for both are mentioned as existing in Buddha's time. The present city of Ayodhya is according to him at a corner of Sāketa. "They were possibly adjoining, like London and Westminster."¹ But in the Rāmāyaṇa and in Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa Sāketa has been explicitly called the capital of king Daśaratha although that position is habitually attributed to Ayodhya. The city must have had two names which are indiscriminately used both in Pali and Sanskrit.

Ayodhya is unimportant in the Pali canonical works and is not observed in the Mahābhārata. In the Rāmāyaṇa, it butts in with the full grandeur of a metropolis. Situated on the banks of the Sarayu, it was a well-fortified city, protected on the other sides by a deeply excavated moat kept continually filled with water, 12 *yojanas* in length and 3 *yojanas* in breadth. Daśaratha multiplied its habitations (*purim āvasayāmāsa*). The city had fine wide streets full of traffic, symmetrically arranged, regularly watered and occasionally strewn with full-bloomed flowers. It had massive gates, was intersected with small crossways (*suvibhaktāntarāpaṇam*), equipped with mechanical contrivances and arms (*sarvayantrāyudbhavatī*), inhabited by all sorts of mechanics (*sarvaśilpī*) provided with dramatic parties (*bahūnāṭaka saṃghaiśca saṃyuktām*), fitted with parks and mango-gardens and encircled by a line of big Śāla trees.

¹ Buddhist India, p. 39.

The fronts of its buildings were harmoniously arranged (*suniveśita-veśmāntām*). It was frequented by merchants from different countries and garnered with paddy and rice (I. 5. 9 ff). It had the auspicious shape of a bow, the string being along the river (*Kālikā Purāṇa*, 84, 237 f).¹ Śāketa is referred to as Sagoda by Ptolemy (2.25).

Kosāmbi was capital of the Vatsas or Vamsas (*Jāt.* IV. 28; VI. 236) on the Jamunā. Its king was Udayana whose elopement and marriage with Vāsavadattā, the princess of Avanti form the theme of a dramatic legend. "It was the most important *entrepôt* for both goods and passengers coming to Kosala and Magadha from the south and west."²

Bārāṇasi, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gumti (*Mbh.* XIII. 30) was the capital of Kāsi which, at the time of Buddha, formed part of the kingdom of Kosala. It was a seat of Buddhist learning and philosophy, remains of which are scattered at Sarnath. But when Hiuen Tsang visited the city, "there were twenty Deva temples, the towers and halls of which are of sculptured stone and carved wood. The foliage of trees combines to shade (the sites), while the pure streams of water encircle them." Like Taxila it later attained the fame of a university town. Although at the time when the Jātakas were composed it was a centre of learning of some standing (I. 436, 447, 463; III. 537), students had to travel all the way to Taxila from Benares for the higher courses of *sippas* and *vijjās*. At that time it was a great centre of industries (I. 98) and a big and prosperous city, 12 *yojanas* in extent (II. 402)—*pākāraparikkhepo*

¹ In the *Manasāra* and the *Mayamata* this design of a village or town is called *Kārmuka*.

² *Rhys Davids: loc. cit.*

dvādasayojaniko hoti, idam assā antarabāhiram pana tiyq-janasatikarattṭham (I. 125).

7. Vesāli. Ānanda's list is far from exhaustive; and even in Buddha's time, in the Madhyadesa itself, the cradle of his faith, there were other cities which could claim rank with the aforesaid ones. Vesāli, the capital of the Vajjis, a powerful confederation of republican tribes was situated in the Muzaffarpur district (Basarb) on the left bank of the Gaṇḍak (Rām. I. 4). It is said to be three *yojanas* north of the Ganges and five *yojanas* from Rājagaha (Com. on Sut. II. 1). The Jātakas aver that in Buddha's time it was a highly prosperous city (parama-sobhaggapattam) encompassed by a triple wall each a *yojana* distant from the next, having three gates with watch-towers (I. 504). According to the Mahāvagga, "at that time (Buddha's) Vesāli was an opulent (iddhā), prosperous (phītā), populous (bahujanā) town, crowded with people (ākiṇṇamanussā), abundant with food (subhikkhā). There were 7,707 storeyed buildings (pāsāda), 7,707 pinnacled buildings (kūṭāgāra), 7,707 pleasure grounds (ārāma), 7,707 lotus ponds (pōkkharaṇi)" (VIII. 1). The prosperity was no doubt eclipsed by Pāṭaliputra when Ajātasatru annexed the land of the Vajjis to Magadha and built the new city to hold them under subjection.

8. Mithilā. In the same district of Muzaffarpur has been located the city of Mithilā (Janakpur), capital of Videha, said to have been seven *yojanas* in extent (circumference ? sattayojane mithilānagare, Jāt. III. 365, IV. 315, VI. 246). It was undoubtedly a big and opulent city, for at its four gates there were four *nigamas* or wards called the East Town (pācinayavamajjhaka), the South Town, the West Town and the North Town each inhabited by wealthy merchants (seṭṭhi, anuseṭṭhi, VI. 330 f). In the Mahaummagga Jātaka it is said that a king dug three moats round it,—a water-moat, a mud-moat and

a dry-moat.¹ The great Videhan king Janaka ruled in this city.

According to a long versical narrative, Mithilā was spacious and splendid (*visālam sabbatopabham*), divided into well-measured blocks (*vibhattam bhāgaso mitam*) having many walls and gates (*bahupākāratoranam*), strong towers and palaces (*dalhamatṭālakotthakam*), intersected by big roads (*suvibhattam mahāpatham*), laid out with shops at regular intervals (*suvibhattantarāpanam*), thick with traffic of carts and chariots (*gavāssarathapīḷitam*) beautified with parks and gardens (*ārāmavanamālinim*) (*Jāt. VI. 46 ff.*). The account of the *Mahābhārata* is closely similar. The city was ruled over by Janaka and “adorned with the flags of various guilds.” It was “a beautiful town resounding with the noise of sacrifices and festivities,” “furnished with splendid gateways, abounding with palatial residences.” “Protected by walls on all sides, it had many splendid buildings to boast of. That delightful town was also filled with innumerable cars. Its streets and roads were many and well laid and many of them were lined with shops. And it was full of horses and cars and elephants and warriors. And the citizens were all in health and joy and they were always engaged in festivities” (*III. 206. 6-9.*).

Kapilavastu was the headquarters of the Sākyas another republican tribe, and the birth-place of Buddha. It comprised of several villages or wards, of which one was Lummini, where Buddha was born and which is identified with Rummindei where Aśoka's Pillar Edict records the commutation of *bali* and reduction of *bhāga* to 1/8 for the villagers. Kapilavastu is located in Gorakhpur district on the border of Nepal and the United Provinces from archæological discoveries and

¹ The *Arthaśāstra* enjoins three ditches round a city (*II. 3*). The *Devī-Purāṇa* says that the number should be according to the requirements of the ground (*72. 28*).

from the distances given from other known places, viz., 80 *yojanas* from Rājagaha, 50 from Vesālī, 6 or 7 from Sāvattbi, and so on. It had a central mote-hall (*santāgāra*) where deliberations and administrative business were carried on.¹

Ujjeni or Ujjainī, the Ozene of the Periplus, was the capital of Avanti, one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus, ruled in the time of Buddha and Bimbisāra by Caṇḍa Pajjota, whose son Vidudhaba massacred the Sākyas at Kapilavastu for deceitfully giving a slave-girl in marriage to his father. Under the Maurya administration, this was a provincial headquarter. Ptolemy notes that it was the capital of Tiasenes (Chastana). The famous Vikramāditya having expelled the Scythians and established his power over the greater part of India made this city his capital. At the time of the Periplus, it was an important mart linking the northern countries to the sea-port of Barygaza. Fa-hien refers to it as a flourishing university town.

Takṣaśilā (Pali—Takkhasila), the reputed centre of Brāhmanical learning flourished much earlier from the time of Buddha. It is profusely referred to in the Pali canonical literature and men of eminence like Pāṇini the grammarian, Jīvaka the physician and Cānakya the politician claimed this as their *alma mater*. The foundation of the city is ascribed by the Rāmāyaṇa to Bharata who is said to have placed his son Takṣa as king there (VII. 114, 201). Literally the word means "hewn stone" and Wilson thinks that the city might have been built of stone instead of brick or mud as were most other cities of India. Presumably it grew to be the capital of Gandhāra (Jāt. I. 217). Its king Omphi

¹ For the legendary origin of Kapilavastu, see S. Hardy : Manual, pp. 133 ff.

submitted to Alexander when he invaded it. Under the Mauryas it remained a viceregal centre, a large city and governed by good laws (Str. XV. i. 28). After them it was successively the capital of the Bactrian, Saka and Pahlava kings. Arrian describes the city as great and wealthy (V. 8) and as the most populous that lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes. Strabo tells the same thing and with Hiuen Tsang praises the fertility of its soil (XV. i. 17, 28). The latter notices its springs and water courses which account for this fertility. Pliny calls it a famous city, and states that it was situated on a level where the hills sank down into plains. Near the middle of the 1st century A.D. Appollonius of Tyana and his companion Damis are reported to have visited it and Philostratos the biographer described it as being about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek city and the residence of a sovereign. The city was "divided into narrow streets with great regularity" reminding the travellers of Athens. There was also a garden, one stadium long with a tank in the midst filled with cool and refreshing streams. Outside the wall was a beautiful temple of porphyry, wherein was a shrine round which were hung pictures on copper tablets representing the feats of Alexander and Poros (Priault's Appollon., pp. 13 ff).

The valley in which the remains of Taxila lie, is a singularly pleasant one, well-watered by the Haro river and its tributaries, and protected by a girdle of hills; on the north and east by the snow-mountains of Hazra and the Murree ridge, on the south and west by the well-known Margalla spur and other lower eminences. "This position on the great trade-route which used to connect Hindustan with Central and Western Asia, coupled with the strength of its natural defences, the fertility of the soil, and a constant supply of good water,

Its natural advantages.

readily accounts for the importance of the city in early times." ¹

The remains of the city are distributed into three distinct sites within three and half miles of each other, viz., Bhir mound, Sirkap and Sirsukh. This fact, characteristic of many other ancient towns reveals important socio-political developments. Firstly, there was the need of expansion of old towns and the convenient way was to start with a suburban townlet adjoining the borders than to expand by demolishing old parapets and dumping up the ditches. But the change was more often brought forth by military than by civic requirements. Many of the oldest cities were moving camps of kings; and the site from which a king shifted became a deserted city. For a conqueror to use this as capital was against the rules of politics apparently because its ins and outs were known to enemy agents. Hence he had to found his own capital which was conveniently done at the neighbourhood of the old site.

These ruins also afford a clear glimpse into the old city plan. "The city of Sirkap shows several large blocks of dwellings, separated one from the other by narrow side streets. . . The unit of their design is the open quadrangle surrounded by chambers (*catuḥśālā*) and this unit is repeated two, three or four times according to the amount of accommodation required by the occupants, the small rooms fronting on the streets being usually reserved for shops. The walls were constructed either of rough rubble or diaper masonry." ² About its construction and material prosperity, the *Rāmāyaṇa* writes that the twin cities of Taxila and Puṣkalāvati were rich in treasures and embellished with gardens; characterised by intensive commerce, great

¹ Marshall : *Guide to Taxila*, pp. 1 f.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 70 f.

concourse of people, shops, symmetrically arranged in rows on both sides of the main thoroughfares; beautified with splendid shrines and massive trees; so that it took five years to build the cities (VII. 114).

Like Taxila, the city of Puṣkalāvati or Puṣkarāvati is claimed to have been founded by Bharata
12. Puṣkalāvati. and placed under the rule of his son

Puṣkala.¹ It was the western capital of Gandhāra. It is placed in the district of Charsadda on the river now called Landai which Alexander crossed by constructing a bridge (Str. XV. i. 27). He besieged and reduced the city and set up his protégé there (Arrian, Anab. IV. 22). It stood on important trade routes from Bactria to Barygaza (Peri. 47) and to Pāṭaliputra. The city is also noticed by Ptolemy (I. 44) and by Arrian as a very large and populous city (Indica, I.).

Kampilla (Kampil in Farukkabad district), was the capital of the northern Pañcālas on the
13. Kampilla. northern bank of the Ganges (Jāt. V. 98).

In the Mahābhārata however it appears on the bank of the Ganges but as the capital of south Pañcāla, which became the seat of king Drupada after he was defeated by Droṇa's pupils (I. 138. 73 f) while Abhicchatra (in Rohilkhand) was capital of north Pañcāla.

Dantapura is referred to as capital of Kalinga (Jāt. II. 367, IV, 230; Dn. II. 235; Mah. III. 361). It is the same as Pliny's Dandaguda, the town of
14. Dantapura. the Calingoe. Tradition ascribes the name

to the tooth relic of Buddha preserved there. This was obviously a later ascription after the name was already in

¹ The historicity of these two eponymous heroes is doubtful. As Taxila may well have owed its name to its stone-built houses, so Puṣkalāvati may have been so named due to its attractive lotus-ponds.

vogue from some other origin.¹ The name may have been derived from the elephant-tusk or ivory for which Kalinga was famous (Arth. I. 2). The city has been identified by Cunningham with Rājamāhendri, and by others with Puri. It may more plausibly be placed at Dantan on the Kasai in Midnapore district. At the time of Khāravela the capital was removed farther south where the new city of Kalinga (Mukhalingam and adjacent ruins in the Ganjam district) was built and a settlement of 100 masons was created free from revenue, obviously for further beautification of the city (Hathigumpha In.)

Mathurā (a little south of modern Mathura) on the Jumna, the capital of the Sūrasenas was the reputed birth-place of Kṛṣṇa and the scene of his jūvenile adventures. In Buddha's time it is barely mentioned while in the Milinda it is reported to be one of the famous places in India (331). Hence "the time of its greatest growth must have been between these dates."² Pliny knows the city. Arrian knows it as a great city and Ptolemy as 'the city of the gods.' This is a cogent observation for under the Kuṣāṇas it became the seat of Jaina religion and learning and dotted with numerous sculptures and votive inscriptions. The Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa records that Śatrughna founded it after slaying Lavaṇa, that it stood on the Jamunā the shape of a half-moon,³ that its land was fertile and productive, that its shops teemed with merchandise, that its buildings were reconstructed and parks and squares laid out and that it flourished with brisk business transactions carried out by merchants from

¹ Cf. how under the influence of Buddhist legends Takṣaśilā (hewn rock) became Takṣaśira (severed head) and Adicchatra (Adi's parasol) became Abicchatra (parasol of snake's hood).

² Rhys Davids : Buddhist India.

³ Cf. Ayodhyā and the Kārmuka design. *Ardhacandra* is not crescent.

different countries (83. 9 ff).¹ The Harivaṃsa confirms the same report stating that it was like a half-moon along the Jamunā, that it was rich in gardens and groves (udyānavana-sampanna) and decorated with ramparts and turrets (chayāṭṭālaka keyūrah) (Viṣṇuparva, ch. 54). "It was sufficiently famous for the other Madhurā in Tinnevely first mentioned in the Mahāvamso to be named after it."²

Dwāarakā or Dvārāvati said in the Mahābhārata to have been founded by Śrīkṛṣṇa by renovation of the old sea-coast city of Kuśāsthali is perhaps of later growth like Mathurā. Yule and Lassen

16. Dwāarakā.

have identified this with the Baraca of the Periplus and Barake of Ptolemy (I. 94) on the tip of the Kathiawad Peninsula the gulf whereof was very difficult for navigation (40). The Harivaṃsa describes the construction of the city in great details. When Śrīkṛṣṇa communicated his plan to the chief architect Viśwakarmā, he suggested a further extension for the accommodation of the citizens. Śrīkṛṣṇa

Its plan.

proceeded with his own and realised his error after a few years. A new scheme was initiated and the municipal area extended to 12 *yojanas* × 8 *yojanas*. Old walls were dismantled and old ditches dumped. The surrounding area was cleared and prepared for the extension. Śrīkṛṣṇa gave instructions that building plots were to be properly spaced, triangular and quadrangular 'islands' were to be created on the crossways and other suitable spots; the main thoroughfares were to be measured up, the orientation of buildings ascertained. Thus ordered, the Yādavas selected the site, measured up the boundary lines, divided the plots and on an auspicious day made offerings to the presiding deities of the *vāstu*. Then

¹ The Jains thus appear as a mercantile community even in the early Christian centuries.

² Rhys Davids : Buddhist India.

Kṛṣṇa reiterated his instructions and laid special stress on the establishment of temples. The orders were carried out and special sites reserved for trees. The original city had its traffic mainly through lanes and bye-lanes (*rathyā-koṭi-sahasrādhyā*). In the enlarged city there were eight main roads—four latitudinal, four longitudinal—surrounded by a boulevard. Sixteen public squares were erected at the sixteen cross-sections.¹ The city was bedecked with reservoirs of pure water troughs and sheds for drinking water, parks, orchards and gardens. Fortifications were built and ditches excavated around it which looked as wide and deep as the river Ganges. Defensive weapons and missiles were stored in large number (*Viṣṇuparva*, chs. 58, 98).

The veracity of these minute details may be doubted with regard to the city of *Dwārakā*, but by no means with regard to the general principles of town-planning. The building of the Kuru township of *Kammāsadamma* as described in the *Jātaka* story and already quoted, reflects the same principles in their original and nebulous form. The *śilpa-sāstras* develop the same principles into a civic science and the builders of an age of progressive urbanisation gave effect to them with ingenious additions to meet the military, economic, religious, sanitary and aesthetic requirements of the times. Such radical reconstructions as described in the *Harivaṃsa* and in the theoretical works also presuppose a large control on private owners, more extensive than any modern improvement trust can boast of. No private interest was allowed to stand on the way against what was conceived as a public necessity.²

Control of Municipal
authorities.

¹ Thus *Dvārāvati* had six longitudinal streets including the boulevard while Calcutta can boast of at most five;—viz., Circular Road, College-Wellesley Street, Chitpore-Chowringhee Road, Strand Road.

² The *Sukranīti* says that private ownership should not be allowed in towns. Plots of ground were allotted to persons during their life-time only for laying out gardens and erecting houses thereon. Ch. II. ll. 421-24.

As Dwārakā was built by the divine architect Viśwakarmā under the orders of king Śrīkrṣṇa, so the city of Indraprastha was constructed by the demon Maya at the requisition of king Yudhiṣṭhira. At the site cleared by the conflagration of the Khāṇḍava forest, on the banks of the Jamunā arose the stately city defended with sea-like ditches and sky-scraping parapets and adorned with gates, towers and palatial buildings. There was a fine lay-out of large thoroughfares. There were magnificent houses, pleasant retreats, fine museums, artificial hills, numerous tanks brimming with water, beautiful lakes fragrant with lilies and lotuses, and lovely with varieties of birds, many charming parks and gardens with tanks at the centres and numberless fine ponds (Mbh. I. 217). Ptolemy notices this city as Indabara (I. 49).

Sāgala or Śākala identified by Fleet with modern Sialkot in the Lahore division is said to have been the capital of Madra (Jāt. IV. 230). It was ruled over by the Madra king Śalya, the brother of Pāṇḍu's wife who participated in the Bhārata war (Mbh. II. 32). It was also ruled over by king Aśwapati, father of Sāvitrī (Matsya Purāṇa, ch. 206). Cunningham says that it was Alexander's Sangala which is known to have offered him a stout resistance, although the position disagrees with that assigned by Alexander's historians.¹ It was the capital of the Greek king Demetrius after his expedition from Bactria and of his successors down to Dionysius. It is referred to as Euthydemia by Ptolemy (I. 46). It undoubtedly rose to the acme of its glory under king Menander. The Milindapañho opens with a full-throated description of the Yona city which is quoted at the beginning of this Book and which substantially recalls the

¹ Arrian and Curtius have noted that this was to the east of the Ravi whereas Śākala according to the Karmapāra was to its west.

picture of Dwārakā and elaborates upon those of Vesāli, Indraprastha and other cities.

19. Pāṭaliputra. With the city of Pāṭaliputra we pass the quicksands of legends and folklore and tread on firmer historical ground. The stages of its evolution are not shrouded in the midst of Epic and Purāṇic traditions. In the earlier Pali literature, supposed to be contemporary of Buddha, it is referred to as Pāṭaligāma. But it had great strategic and commercial value, situated as it was on the confluence of the Ganges and the Son (Erannoboas or Hiranyavahā) one of its largest tributaries. It was near to the land of the Vajjis whose capital Vesāli was conquered by Ajātasattu. Hence the Magadhan king deputed his astute ministers Sunīdha and Vassakāra to convert it into a fort in order to hold the Vajjis in check (Mv. VI. 28; Jātakas). His successor Udayin removed from Rājagaha to this new city. Thenceforth Pāṭaliputra remained the holder of imperial tradition under the successive dynasties of Śaiśunāga, Nanda, Maurya, Sunga, Kanha, Andhra and the Gupta. After the Guptas Kanauj competed with it and finally it was completely overshadowed by the parvenu. When Fa-hien visited it, it was still like "the work of genii beyond the power of human skill." But in Hiuen Tsang's time all that remained of the splendid metropolis were heaps of debris and an insignificant village consisting of about 200 or 300 miserable houses. The city thus, after a shining career of roughly 900 years sank within a century to the oblivion from which it arose in the brief space of a few decades.

According to Megasthenes, Palibothra was the greatest city in India, the shape of a parallelogram, 80 stadia along the river and 15 stadia in breadth, encompassed with a wooden wall (the remains of which have been unearthed and preserved), pierced with loop-holes for the discharge of arrows, crowned with 570 towers and 64 gates, which was

surrounded by a ditch 600 feet wide and 45 feet deep for defence and for receiving the sewage of the city. The royal palace situated in the centre, surpassed the splendour of Susa and Ecbatana (Str. XV. i. 35 f, Arrian, 10). Obviously it attracted from all northern India its overland and river-borne trade. It is recorded from the mouth of Buddha that as far as Aryan people resort, as far as merchants travel, Pāṭaliputra will be the premier city, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares (yāvatā Ānanda, āryaṃ āyatanam yāvatā vanippatho idaṃ aggana-garaṃ bhavissati Pāṭaliputtam puṭabhedanaṃ, Dn. XVI. i. 23). The 'prophecy' was evidently interpolated in a day when Pāṭaliputra was no longer a fishing village but the unrivalled metropolis of Magadha.

Tosali has been decisively located with the finding of the name in the Aśoka inscriptions on the
 20. Tosali. Dhauli rock. Vestiges of a larger city have been discovered not far from the site of the monument and it is almost certain now that this was Aśoka's capital in the province of Orissa. It probably continued to be so till the time of Ptolemy who called it a metropolis but wrongly placed it to the east of the Ganges thus misleading Lassen to locate it somewhere in the province of Dhakkā. The city stood on the margin of a pool called Kośala-Gangā and probably hence the compound Tośala-Kośalakas in the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa (ch. 51) as suggested by Wilford.

Kalbāna the chronicler of Kashmir says that the city of
 21. Śrīnagarī. Śrīnagarī in Kashmir was built by Aśoka which was most important on account of the 96 lacs of houses resplendent with wealth (Rāj. I. 104). Cunningham identifies this with the present village of Pandreṣṭbān (Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna or old capital) on the right bank of the Vitastā some 3 miles above modern Srinagar.¹

¹ For discussion on Cunningham's views see Stein's note on Rāj. I. 104, translation.

Kānyakubja or Kanauj was a leading city in Pañcāla during the period of early Buddhism. 22. Kānyakubja. According to Rhys Davids it was the capital of the second or southern Pañcāla.¹ Its remains have been traced 65 miles WNW. from Lucknow. It is referred to by Ptolemy as Kanogiza on the course of the Ganges (2.22) and as Kanagora in Prasiake (I. 53). It is mentioned in Patañjali, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, the last recounting the Purāṇic story that Vāyu transformed here the 99 daughters (kanyā) of its king Kuśanābha into hunchbacks (kubjas) for scorning him.

Nālandā, of which the relics have been discovered in the village of Bargaon, 7 miles to the north-west of Rājgir, is referred to in the 23. Nālandā. Majjhima as a stronghold of the Jainas or Niganthas, a rich and populous city (iddhā, phītā, bahujanā, ākiṇṇamanussā). From the ruins it appears to have been surrounded with noble tanks on all sides. But situated as it was close to the city of Rājagṛha—it is actually described as a suburb of Rājagṛha (Kalpasutra, p. 122), it apparently did not flourish until about the beginning of the Christian era.² It is not known from when dates its rise as the foremost university town in the East taking the mantle from Taxila as we find in the records of Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing.

Paṭala, says Arrian, was situated at the head of the Delta where the two great arms of the 24. Paṭala. Indus dispart. This indication would have sufficed for its identification but for the fact that the river very often changed its course shifting its point of bifurcation. Arrian says that Paṭala was the greatest city

¹ Buddhist India.

² Bālāditya who lived at the end of the first century A.D. is reported to have built the great temple at Nālandā. Ra'endralala Mitra : Buddha Gaya, p. 247.

in the parts of the country about the mouth of the Indus. It figures conspicuously in the history of the Macedonian invasion. In its spacious docks Alexander found suitable accommodation for his fleet which had descended the Indus. Seeing its fine commercial and strategical situation he strengthened it with a citadel, and made it a military centre for controlling the warlike tribes in its neighbourhood. In Sanskrit *Paṭala* means 'the trumpet flower' and Cunningham thinks that the Delta may have derived its name from its resemblance to the shape of a flower.

As opposed to these opulent cities were sorry little suburb towns beset with jungle (*khuddaka-nagaraka*, *sākhānagaraka*, *ujjāṅgalanagaraka*) like *Kusinārā* the city of the Mallas unfit as a place where the holy Buddha could attain *nirvāṇa*. Similar were the Malla townships of *Pāvā* and *Anupiyā*, *Kiṭāgiri* of *Kāsi*, *Koli*, *Sajjanela* and *Haliddavasana* of the *Kolīyas*, *Āpana* of *Anga*, *Hamsavati* near the *Sākya* and *Tbullakoṭṭhika* near the *Kuru* country.

Apart from these inland cities there were sea-ports or *paṭṭanas* whose main importance was commercial and which served as gates to India's seaborne trade. Although the major part of India's foreign trade was diverted to the extensive seaboard of the south, the coasts of Bengal, Orissa, Kathiawad and Sind had their ports which exchanged cargo with all countries from Rome to Java and Cambodia. One of the earliest of

these was *Roruka* later known as *Roruva*, the capital of *Sovira* (*Jāt.* III. 470; *Dn.* II. 235; *Div.* p. 544). It is not exactly located but must have been somewhere on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Cutch. It has been identified by some with *Ophir* or *Sophr* where Solomon's vessels had traded. Caravans

25. *Roruka*.

Sea-ports.

The small cities.

arrived here from all parts of India including Magadha.

26. Bhārukaccha. Bhārukaccha or Bhṛgukaccha or Barygaza of the Greeks was on the site of modern Broach the sea-port of the kingdom of Bhāru (Jāt. IV. 137) which may have flourished after the waning of Roruka out of importance (Div. pp. 544 ff). Sūrpāraka was the capital of Aparānta or Northern Konkan.¹

27. Sūrpāraka. It has been satisfactorily identified with the Ophir to which Solomon sent his ships hired from the Tyrians. Supārā had such a coastal situation that western traders crossing the ocean under the monsoon would naturally direct their course thither. The name Supārā is almost identical with that of Ophir when it takes an initial 'S' becoming Sophara as in the Septuagint and Sofir which is the Coptic name for India.² Bhārukaccha and Suppāraka were the great ports of the Andhras and Sāta-vāhanas and contributed to their phenomenal wealth. The Periplus refers to another sea-port on the western coast, viz.,

28. Barbaricum. Barbaricum (Barberei—Ptolemy, I. 60), the port of the Scythian metropolis of Paṭala and Minnagara (38) or, according to Sanskrit, of Barbara country. It also refers to the great eastern empo-

29. Tāmralipta. rium of Tāmralipta (modern Tamluk) situated at the mouth of the Ganges. It is also mentioned by Ptolemy (Tamalitês, I. 73) and in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. From this port Vijaya is said to have sailed for and conquered Ceylon.³

So far for the Indian cities known over the globe for their phenomenal wealth and luxury all of which have

¹ R. G. Bhandarkar : History of the Deccan, III, p. 9.

² Many Biblical authorities locate Ophir on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, the Indian names for the products showing only that the place was a trading centre with India.

³ For the trade of these countries, see *infra*, Bk. III, Ch. V.

sunk down to non-entity and some to oblivion with amazing rapidity leaving behind nothing but the name and dilapidated bricks to recall their glory. The list is far from comprehensive for our space and period. It is impossible to disentangle the identity and origin of the innumerable cities from their mythic cobwebs. But the foregoing

Social significance
of town-planning.

account may help to give a general picture of cities of which there is a marked uniformity over the differences of time and

place, and of the various conditions of their development, viz., military, demographic, industrial and commercial. The city architecture also brings forth the social life of town dwellers. The richer people, the military and mercantile magnates resorted to cities in large numbers and at their behests the artists poured their skill on public buildings to give expression to the happy life, the traditions and ideals of their masters. They decorated the temples, stupas and caves with relief sculptures presenting pictorially the soul-stirring episodes from the career of Rāma, Buddha,

Educative influence
of towns.

Hanumat, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Viṣṇu and other divine or sacred lives. The epics, legends and folklores of the land were an inexhaus-

tible store of material for these artistic, religious and martial expressions. These impulses combined with the national ideal which, blazoned forth from the public buildings inculcated humanising and ennobling sentiments. The mute walls and colonnades of these buildings were thus great educative agents disseminating national culture. Besides being the nurseries of corporate ideals and military and artistic endeavours Indian cities were great schools of nationalism in its most liberal and comprehensive sense. It was this characteristic which gave a peculiar stamp to Indian civic life and gave Indian cities its distinctive mark of individuality which evoked the wonder and admiration of their visitors.

CHAPTER II

THE MUNICIPAL CORPORATION

The village and the town. No sharp cleavage. Distinction. Simplicity and uniformity *vs.* complexity and diversity.

Extension of co-operation. Charitable and religious activities. Aldermen. Municipal administration,—bureaucratic and democratic control. Municipal functions.

The corporate person. Public places and civic amenities.

As explained in the previous chapter, the town was an automatic, organic growth from the village. This is proved not only by the plan of the city or village given in the *śilpaśāstras* and the external features like gates, walls and public works in the description of both; methods of local government, public institutions and popular customs as seen in the *pura* or *nigama* are mostly logical developments from those in the *gāma*.

There was no complete cleavage between the town and countryside. But the antiquity of the Sanskrit words '*paura*' and '*jānapada*' show that a distinction had appeared early. In the Jātakas *janapadā* and *negamā* are often compounded (III. 513, IV. 262, 449; V. 221, VI. 15; Mil. 121). To the townsfolk the village churl, the man from the *dehāt* was a different social category although relations were not always bad. We come across matrimonial transactions between the two parties sometimes successfully performed (*Rājagahaseṭṭhi attano puttassa janapadaseṭṭhino dhītaram ānesi*, IV. 37) and on other occasions broken down when the parties

(nagaravāsino, janapadavāsino) fell to abusing each other (I. 257). Trade transactions were also there :—Sāvatthi-nagaravāsī kīr'eko kuṭumbiko ekena jānapadakuṭumbikena saddhim vohāram akāsi (II. 203).

The essential difference was in the economic structure of towns and villages. The villages were the productive units of the country given to tillage and small handicrafts. The towns were centres for distribution and exchange, of big business and industrial combines where, besides its own wealth, the wealth of the country accumulated and attracted in its turn learning and culture as well as luxuries and parasite professions like stage-acting, dancing, singing, buffoonery, gambling, tavern-keeping and prostitution. The more sophisticated, luxurious and heterogeneous habits of the town are therefore apparent. This is clearly brought forth in the Arthaśāstra chapter on Janapadaniveśaḥ or foundation of villages. No guilds other than local co-operative guilds are allowed entrance into them. Nor are there to be public halls (śālāḥ) for disport and pleasure. Actors, dancers, singers, music-players, buffoons (vāgjīvanas) and bards (kuśīlava) are not allowed to enter for profit and disturb the work of villagers who being helpless are always bent upon their field (nirāśrayatvāt grāmānām kṣetrābhiratatvāt, I. 1). The jealous attempt to guard agriculture against the corrupting diversions of the town shows clearly that there was a deep-seated difference and loss of contact in town life and country life, thanks to which Megasthenes observed that "husbandmen themselves with their wives and children live in the country and entirely avoid going into town" (Diod. II. 40).

But the transition was gradual ; and not all the wholesome features of the *gāma* were lost in the process. The best part of it was the translation of the rural associate life to a civic consciousness and to the idea of a municipal corporation with all its legal consequences.

In its corporate life and co-operative activities the *nigamā* is a replica of the *gāma* described above.¹ Only we find the spirit of co-operation extended from the village whole to the streets and wards of the municipality. "That the street is a kind of club, the very architecture, with its verandas and stone-couches bear witness to."² This co-operative effort was the mainspring of philanthropic and religious activity. Street corporations (*vithisabhāgena*), municipal wards and sometimes all citizens collectively at *Sāvatthi* and at *Rājagaha* (*ganabandhanena bahu ekato butvā, sakalanagaravāsino chandakam samharitvā*) were active in the entertainment of Buddha and the Brethren (*Jāt. I. 422, II. 45, 196, 286*). "On this occasion all the inhabitants had made such a collection of all necessities; but counsels were divided, some demanded that this be given to the heretics, some speaking for those who followed the Buddha.....then it was proposed to divide on the question and accordingly they divided; those who were for the Buddha were in the majority."³ We have noticed the *goṭhi* of the Sanchi and Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions meaning thereby a committee of trustees in charge of a temple⁴ or of charitable institutions. "At Benares free education and board were voted by the town to penniless lads" (*Jāt. I. 239, 451*). We find a market town where a great deal of rice was distributed by ticket and special meals were given (*eko nigamagāmo tatthā bahūni salākabhadda pakkhika-bhattāni atthi, Jāt. II. 209*). Service of humanity was placed in the fore-front of the

¹ Book I, Ch. IV.

² Sister Nivedita : *Civic and National Ideals*.

³ The whole procedure is described in detail in its application to the Samgha in Cv. IV. 9, 10, 14.

⁴ The communal tradition of public worship of gods expenses being met by local subscriptions survive to-day. Of course the holy ground of the temple was not open to the pariah.

municipal programme. Charitable dispensaries and hospitals meant for the poor and the helpless are observed and described in detail by Fa-hien in several cities of the eastern countries.

This and other aspects of corporate activity and the growth of the corporation as a legal body are hinted at in a Jātaka verse and lucidly explained in the commentary. Although this comes with reference to the *pūga* a corporate body which cannot be strictly identified with a town corporation, it can be taken as fairly indicative of the functions of the latter since the *pūga* was not exactly a craft-guild and represents a synthesis of larger interests as happen to exist side by side in towns.¹ They appear in hell in a fiery pit who raise a loan on behalf of the corporation and under false pretences misappropriate the money.

Aldermen; ad-
ministration of public
funds.

Ye keci pūgāyatanassa hetu
sakkhiṃ karitvā iṇaṃ jāpayanti, IV. 108

Commentary :—Okāse sati dānaṃ vā dassāma pūjaṃ vā pavattessāma vihāraṃ vā karissāma saṃkaḍḍhitvā ṭhapitassa pūgasantakassa dhanassa hetu, Jāpayantīti taṃ dhanam yathārucim khāditvā gaṇa-jeṭṭhakānaṃ lañcam datvā asukaṭṭhāne ettakaṃ vayakaraṇaṃ gataṃ asukaṭṭhāne amhehi ettakaṃ dinnan ti kuṭasakkhiṃ datvā taṃ iṇaṃ jāpayanti vināsentī.

Thus the *pūga* can raise money for charity, for public worship or to raise a monastery. The aldermen who were in charge of these funds had to give accounts of expenditure under different heads. If these people were purchased by bribe and public money misappropriated under false pretences perdition was in store for the offender. The lawgivers were aware of this abuse. "Whatever loan," says

¹ See *infra*, p. 232.

Kātyāyana, "raised for public purposes is consumed or employed for one's self should be restored by him."

Gaṇamuddiśya yat kiñcit kṛtyaṇaṃ bhakṣitaṃ bhavet
ātmārthaṃ viniyuktaṃ vā deyaṃ taireva tad bhavet

(Cf. Viṣ. V. 167 ; Yāj. II. 187).

About the aldermen or members of a town corporation (*negamā*) the Bhaṭṭiprolu Inscription (No. 8) enumerates twenty-one even giving their names.¹

They obviously have their counterpart in the *grāma-vṛddhas* of the Arthaśāstra. But the Bhaṭṭiprolu Inscription certainly points to a fuller municipal life in the town than in the village. And this is corroborated with additional data by Megasthenes' account about Pāṭaliputra. "Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each." The first looks after everything relating to industrial arts, the second to care of foreigners, the third to registration of births and deaths, the fourth to control of trade, the fifth to sale and auction and the sixth to collection of tithe. Collectively they attend to matters of "general interest, as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair, the regulation of prices, the care of markets, harbours and temples" (Str. XV. i. 51). The picture of course appears to be one of complete official control and not of a self-governing body. But the executive machinery with departmental divisions and standing committees in charge of each and with its collective functions was presumably evolved from pre-imperial days and was a general characteristic of big metropolitan cities described in the preceding chapter.

Municipal administration of Pāṭaliputra.

It may also be presumed that whenever the imperial

Bureaucratic and democratic control.

control was withdrawn, the same machinery was continued under democratic direction. The later Smṛtis lay down high qualification,

¹ E. I. II. 25.

viz., good lineage, knowledge of the Vedas, self-control, administrative acumen, purity of body and mind and freedom from avarice for the executive officers of the assembly who are called *samūhahitavādinaḥ* and *kāryacintakāḥ* (Vṛ. XVII. 9; Yāj. II. 191). The power of appointing and of punishing them was exercised by the municipal body (Vṛ. XVII. 17-20). When not under the direct authority of a strong king, the autonomous or semi-independent municipality developed a police and military force of its own to defend against attacks either from within or from without, *i.e.*, from robbers and rogues who must be repelled by all (Vṛ. XVII. 5 f; *cf.* Nār. III. 4, X. 5). Sometimes they became powerful enough to take the offensive, make marauding expeditions and harass kings (Vṛ. XIV. 31f.; Arth. V. 3).

Archæological evidence affords a glimpse into the other functions of the municipal body. At Municipal functions. Nasik, under Scythian rule, the terms of a royal endowment or of a private endowment with investment in a guild bank were publicly announced (*srāvita*) in the town-hall (*nigamasabhā*) and then duly registered (*nibaddha*) (Nasik Cave In. 12. v; 15. viii). The corporations had their seals and sometimes issued coins in their name. Marshall discovered a seal-die of terra cotta at Bhita near Ailababad with the legend 'Śāhijitiye nigamaśa' assigned to the 3rd or 4th century B.C. on palaeographic grounds at the foundation of a house which he thinks to have been the office of the *nigama*.¹ Four sealings bearing the legend 'nigama' or 'nigamaśa' in Kuṣāṇa characters have also been found there and a fifth with the legend 'nigamasya' in northern Gupta characters. Similar seals have been discovered at Basarh (Vaiśālī) belonging to the time of Gupta emperors. Four coins have been discovered

¹ Annual Report of Archæological Survey, 1911-12, p. 47.

at Taxila bearing the legend ' *negamā* ' in the reverse and a certain name in the obverse, presumably of their royal or popular heads. The characters are Brāhmī and Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhī pointing to not later than the 3rd century B.C.¹ It may be noted here that the Visuddhimagga says that some *naigamas* and *gāmas* could issue money (XIV).²

The Basarh seals throw more light on municipal development in a later age. Members and leading functionaries of the body (*prathamakulika*) are referred to. The towns were ruled over by powerful economic interests like *śreṣṭhi*, *sārthavāha* and *kulika* who appear with their names in the seals. They appear with ruling powers over the *viṣaya* in the Damodarpur Copper Plate inscriptions. With their growing economic importance, craft-guilds and trade-guilds settled in the *nigamas* under the Gupta Empire took control of town administration.³

Thus in its constitution and function the municipality appears with a complexion strikingly modern. As noted in the previous chapter, the radical reconstructions which towns had often to undergo presuppose a rigid municipal authority on property-owners to which the Improvement Trusts of the present day are hardly a parallel. The Śukra-nīti even denies private ownership in towns providing only for allotment of plots during one's life. The books of

¹ Cunningham : *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 69 and Pl. III.

² D. R. Bhandarkar : Carmichael lectures, 1918, p. 176.

³ Many scholars understand *nigama* of these seals and coins to be guilds and not corporations. D. R. Bhandarkar finds no authority for this (*op. cit.*, pp. 170 ff.). R. C. Majumdar makes a compromise and concludes : " There were powerful guild-organisations with ruling authority in various cities of India during the Gupta period." *Corporate Life*, p. 45. So far as the *gāma* of the Visuddhimagga is concerned, we shall see that in an industrial village, the guild and the corporation were the same body. The same identity should occur in many *nigamas* which very often were only an evolution from the *gāma* mustering several organised industries instead of one; and a *puga* or composite guild being a federation of several organised industries is hardly different from a *nigama*. For more and later instances of mercantile interests being the civic authority, see E. I. I. 20 : XIV. 14.

Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Yājñavalkya recognise the legal idea of corporate person with powers of standing in a law-court, owning property, contracting loan, etc. In public works and civic amenities, ancient towns even compare favourably with modern towns. Among public places, the Sāntiparva enumerates a market, a field for athletics, a hall of the nobility, a pleasure garden, a garden, the assembly of officials and the council (69). To these may be added the public rest-house with the attached tank. There was the town-hall—the *sabhā* or *nagaramandira* or the more primitive council tree at the crossroad. Parks and gardens were sometimes laid out on the banks of pure water reservoirs in which aquatic plants were reared to enhance the charm. These were fitted with shades, baths, bowers, cradles and pedestals. There were public wells and water-sheds (*prapā*) at the junction of roads. There were triangles and squares on the cross-section of roads. Every ward or municipal division was endowed with these civic amenities to relieve congestion and ensure air and light. The numerous city descriptions in Indian literature revel in glorifying these in detail. The very climatic conditions of the tropical country fostered outdoor life and civic spirit under clear air and cloudless skies.

CHAPTER III

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS : SPECIALISATION OF ARTS AND CRAFTS

India an industrial country. Industries in towns and villages. Dionysius.

Mining and minerals. Mineralogy. Metal-workers. The Blacksmith, his art. The Goldsmith, his art. Fees for metal-workers.

Animals and animal produce. Industries from animal produce. Ivory work. Fisheries.

Perfumery; sandal. Textile industries. Textile luxuries. Toilets and other luxuries. Miscellaneous crafts. Specialisation and division of labour.

House-building—the carpenter, his craft; the architect; the stone-cutter; the painter.

The washerman and dyer. Other industries. Adaptability of Indian craftsmen. The Municipal market. State and municipal control.

Mechanisation of industries. Mechanical devices and power.

The long-standing notion that India has all along been primarily an agricultural country was dispelled many years ago by the scholarly thesis of R. C. Dutt. It is now well-known that India was the home of arts and crafts, that her specialised industries found an appreciative market throughout the known ranges of the globe, that she was rich in raw materials for industrial production and that many of her finished goods would compare favourably with her modern compeers in aesthetic value.

The towns no doubt favoured the concentration and perfection of the industrial arts. But these had an almost equally important rôle to play in rural and in national economy.

Literally every house was a centre of some small industry. And side by side with the agriculturist innumerable industrial professions cropped up in the countryside to cater

to the needs of the people and add to the total productive wealth of the nation.

Dionysius, the poet of "The Description of the Whole World," supposed to belong to the 3rd century A.D., gives a brief and beautiful glimpse into Indian industries from long-range perspective. "They (the Indians on the other side of the Indus) are variously occupied—some by mining seek for the matrix of gold, digging the soil with well-curved pickaxes; others ply the loom to weave textures of linen; others saw the tusks of elephants and varnish them to the brightness of silver; and others along the courses of mountain torrents search for precious stones—the green beryl, or the sparkling diamond, or the pale green translucent jasper, or the yellow stone or the pure topaz, or the sweet amethyst which with a milder glow imitate the hue of purple."

India had abundant mineral resources and her people knew full well to exploit the mines. In Mining and metals. the words of Diodorus, she "has also under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war" (II. 36). Strabo, although he dismisses as a fable the story told by Timagenes that showers fall of drops of copper which are swept together, cites the more credible statement of Megasthenes "since the same is the case in Iberia, that rivers carry down gold dust, and that a part of this is paid by way of tribute to the king" (XV. i. 57). Similarly on the testimony of Gorgos, the miner, he believes in the existence of gold and silver mines in mountains but is misled to state that "the Indians being unacquainted with mining and the smelting of ores¹ do not know their own wealth,

¹ This is distinctly referred to as early as in the Rg-Veda, V. 9. 5; VI. 3. 4.

and therefore traffic with greater simplicity" (30). In a Jātaka verse, a list of minerals includes iron (ayo), copper (loham), tin (tipu), lead (sīsam), silver (rajatam) and gold (jātarūpan) (cf. Dn. XXIII. 29). The Arthaśāstra list of metals gives iron (kālāyasa), copper (tāmra), ? (vṛtta), bronze (kāmsya), lead (sīsa), tin (trapu), mercury (vai-kṛntaka) and brass (ārakūṭa). The Jātaka stories also testify that these mines, mostly under state monopoly, were worked by convict labour (cf. Arth. IV. 8).

The Arthaśāstra, in the chapter on Ākarakarmāntapravar-tanam, evinces a great development in the science of mineralogy (sulbadhātu-śāstra). Mines were discovered and exploited in plains and in mountain slopes. Large varieties of alloys, processes for extracting metals from ores, the chemical test of metallic substances on acid and alkaline matter are all treated in detail. That these were the acquisition of an earlier age from that of the author of the Arthaśāstra is evident from the simile in the Jātaka verse—"like verdigris removed by acid,"—*ambilena paharitvā tambamalam* (III. 344); *ambiladhotam viya tambamalam* (V. 95).¹ Drawing a more elaborate analogy, Buddha explains: "When master Kassapa, that ball of iron, with its lambent and gaseous concomitants, is burning and glowing with heat, then it is lighter, softer, more plastic, but when, without those lambent and gaseous concomitants, it is cool and quenched, it is then heavier, more rigid, less plastic" (Dn. XXIII. 17).

After the knowledge of metals and of their properties was acquired, the smith's trade was divided and specialised on the basis of different metals. In a Milinda list of crafts in a town we

¹ Cf. Buddhaghosa's note on 'khura-sipāṭikarp,' i.e., powder prepared with sipāṭika gum to prevent razors from rusting, Cv. V. 27. 4.

have reference to workers in gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, brass and iron separately (suvannakāra, sajjhakāra, sīsakāra, tipukāra, lohakāra, vattakāra, ayakāra). By far the commonest and most important from the point of view of village economy were the blacksmiths, the workers in iron

The Blacksmith. and steel. They were generally grouped

in exclusive settlements of their own,¹ and people came from the neighbouring villages to have razors, axes, ploughshares and goads made (vāsi-pharasu-phāla-pācanādi, Jāt. III. 281 ff). A more elaborate list of their handicrafts gives razor, axe, spade, augur, hammer, instrument for cutting bamboos, iron weapon, grass-cutter, sword, iron staff, peg and three-pronged iron fork (vāsi-pharasu-kuddāla-nikhādana - muṭṭhika-velugumbhacchedana-satthi - tiṇalāyana - asi-lohadanḍa - khanuka - ayasimghāṭaka, V. 45).

It is difficult from this distance of time to assess their workmanship at its true value. In the

Workmanship.

Jātaka story just referred to (III. 281 ff), we are told about the exploits of a youthful prodigy. He “took iron of the best kind and made one delicate, strong needle which pierced dice and floated on water: then he made a sheath for it of the same kind and pierced dice with it.” Seven such sheaths were made enclosing one upon another, even the last capable of being mistaken as the needle. The strength of the needle is demonstrated by piercing an anvil with it and letting it float on water. We do not know what allowance is to be made for the Bodhisatta factor. The human element is left in the lurch by the pedagogic conclusion of the story: “How he made them is not to be told, for such work prospers through the greatness of Bodhisatta’s knowledge.”

¹ There was also the itinerant smith who carries his furnace wherever he is called to go—*kammārāṇaṃ yathā ukkā anto jhāyati no bahi*, Jāt. VI. 189.

There are other evidences of the high excellence of the blacksmith's art which stand on more solid ground. For, it must be remembered that he not only supplied tools to the cultivator, the gardener, the carpenter, the wood-cutter and the grass-mower, he also armed the military. It was on him that the king depended for victory in war. Megasthenes notices this twofold function of the smith (Diod. II. 41) and the protection given to this class by the Maurya state. They received subsidy from the royal exchequer and were exempted from paying taxes. Causing injury to their eye or hand (which disabled them to pursue their craft) meant death for the offender. The sedulous cultivation of the art of killing and of its implements led to the unique metallurgical development as reflected in the chapter on the Superintendent of Armouries in the Arthaśāstra (II. 18), and in the great battle episodes of the Mahābhārata.

The goldsmith from the nature of his trade seems to have settled in the town where he could cater to the demands of fashion and luxury of the richer folk, and he is not found settled in exclusive villages like the blacksmith in the *kammāragāma* (Jāt. V. 424 com.; Dn. II. 88; Mil. 331; Rām. II. 83. 15; Mathura In. E. I. II. 14). His was a highly specialised art. The author of the Arthaśāstra contemplates a separate superintendent over the craft, treats gold and silver separately from other metals and deals with various fineries like ornamental work, setting jewels, thread-making, etc. (II. 12 f.). The skilled smith executes an exquisite gold image to the order of a king (Jāt. V. 282). He is seen refining gold from the bed of river Jambu in a crucible, working it to a brilliant polish so that, laid on a yellow cloth, it diffuses its sparkling radiance around (*nekkham jambonadam dakkhakammāraputta ukkā mukhe sukusalasam-paṭṭham paṇḍukambale nikkhittam bhāsati ca tapati ca virocati ca*, Mn. 120; An. I. 181). The silversmith, blowing

off the filth from his metal, is also a common figure (Śut. 962; Dhṛp. V. 239). Much of jewellery has survived and is amply represented in the bas-reliefs to show the shape and size of ornaments (*cf.* Rām. I. 16; II. 9; III. 49, 51, 52, 54).

The Arthaśāstra specifies the fees for metal-workers.

They were required to manufacture gold and silver coins, 1 *māṣa*¹ is the fee for the manufacture of a silver *dharāṇa*, 1/8 portion for manufacture of a *suvarṇa*. Fees rise according to the skill of the worker. Fees shall be 5 p.c. or 1/20 for manufacture of articles from copper, brass, *vaikṛntaka* and *ārakūṭa*. 1 and 2 *kākaṇis* are fees for manufacturing an article of a *pala* in weight of lead and iron respectively (IV. I. Munich MS.).²

The hills and forests of India were rich in animal resources sufficient to draw the attention of Megasthenes, and to provide materials for a complete treatise by Aelian. In the forests held under its monopoly, the state had a lucrative income from these products. In the primeval forests which were no man's property, the hunter and fowler plied their trade selling flesh for eating to the townsfolk or the hide, claws, teeth and fat when he happened to bag a lion (Jāt. I. 387; III. 152). According to the Arthaśāstra, the skin (*carma*), bone (*asthi*), bile (*pitta*), gut (*snāyu*), tooth (*danta*), horn (*śṛṅga*), hoof (*khura*) and tail (*puccha*) are useful commodities derived

¹ Of silver. This means 1/16 of value, 1 *dharāṇa* being 16 *māṣas* in weight.

² The *Sukranīti* assigns the goldsmith 1/30, 1/60 or 1/120, according as the workmanship is excellent, mediocre or inferior; 1/240 in the case of a bracelet (*kataka*) and 1/480 for mere melting. The grades of the silversmith are 1/2, 1/4, 1/8 according to quality of work and 1/16 in the case of a bracelet. The fee is 1/4 for copper, zinc and *jasada* metal; 1/2, 1, 2, or 8 times in case of iron (IV. vv. 653-59). Thus *Sukra*'s law is more equitable giving more weight to workmanship and less to the value of the metal worked upon.

from the lizard, the *seraka* (?), the leopard (*dwīpī*), the porpoise (*sumsumāra*), the lion, the tiger, the elephant, the buffalo, the yak (*camara*), the rhinoceros (? *sṛmarakharbga*) and the gayal (*gavaya*) as well as from other animals, birds and reptiles (II. 17, 29).

The skin disposed of by the hunter went to the tanner and cobbler and fed their industry. The Industries. wool and the feather, after the necessary processes of carding and cleaning, were used by the skilled weaver for the production of warm clothing. But the more important trade flourishing upon animal produce was that of the ivory-carver. He could carve out any shape out of ivory as the potter out of clay or the goldsmith out of gold (Dn. II. 88). The material yielded into diverse forms and shapes as for example bangles and trinkets (*valayādīni*, Jāt. I. 320 f, II. 197), and "a living elephant's tusk was worth a great deal more than a dead one's" (Jāt. I. 320 f; cf. Arth. II. 2). In the *Atthasālinī* these artisans are sketched as "tightly swathed in one garment, their heads covered with another, their limbs besprinkled with ivory dust, making various forms out of ivory," so that a king riding his elephant in state "being pleased with their skill, might say, 'how clever are these masters who can do such things'" and even wish he might be one of them (135).

Fishing was probably confined to the rivers and lakes and the depths of the sea seem not to have Pearl-fishery. been explored by the northerners to a very appreciable extent. A casual simile in the Jātakas of course refers to the throwing of a net in the sea (*samudda-matthake jālam khipanto viya*, III. 345); but in the Jātakas a river is often indiscriminately spoken of as a *samudda* (I. 227 ff; IV. 167 f.; VI. 158). In the *Śāntiparva*, going into the depth of the ocean is among the *vārttās* (*samudraṃ vā viśantyanye*, 167. 33). The treasures (*ratana*) beneath

the ocean are enumerated as *muktā* (pearl), *maṇi* (crystal), *velūriya* (beryl), *saṃkha* (shell), *silā* (quartz), *pacāla* (coral), *rajata* (silver), *jātarūpa* (gold), *lohitanka* (ruby) and *masāra-galla* (cat's eye) (An. IV. 199). Pearl-fishery was a flourishing industry in Ceylon and in the Tamil countries. Writing about it, Pliny says that like bees swarms of oysters were led by clever and flitting ones. If they are netted, others are easily caught. "They are then put into earthen pots where they are buried deep in salt. By this process the flesh is all eaten away, and the hard concretions, which are the pearls, drop down to the bottom" (IX. 55). The tortoise shell which figures in the *Periplus* (17) as an important export from India may be a southern product and so also the beaded pearls of Sītā's head tiara which are claimed to have been raised from the sea (*bārisambhavaḥ*, Rām. V. 40. 8).

Perfumery was a highly specialised art (Jāt. VI. 335).
 Perfumery. The commonest perfume was sandal. The wood was rubbed into a paste, or oil was extracted out of it which was used along with aloe (*akalu*) as toilet (II. 181; III. 160, 512; V. 156, 302; VI. 144). There were several varieties among which *gośīrṣa*, red sandal and that produced in Dardara are enumerated in the *Kalpasutra* (100; cf. Arth. II. 11). Flower-scents were extracted and used to perfume crude sesamum oil (Mbh. VII. 279. 14 f; 299. 14). Many other varieties of aromatics were cultivated and gathered which figure prominently in the *Periplus* and classical writers among the exports of India to the Roman world. Chemical compounds of different scents were also known (*sabbasaṃbhāraka*, Jāt. VI. 336) and the art embraced the knowledge of embalming and preserving dead bodies (Rām. VII. 88. 2-4). Despite the attempt to stigmatise his profession in certain quarters as appropriate to mixed castes (Mbh. XIII. 23. 48)

the perfumer's (gandhika) art had a good demand among the rich and fashionable people and consequently commanded respectability (Jāt. VI. 336; Rām. II. 83. 12ff; Mathura In., Karle Cave In.)

The habits of luxury equally encouraged the textile industries. Megasthenes observes that the main attention of the fashionable was in dress and the medallions and relief sculptures in Barhut, Sanchi, Sarnath and Amaravati amply bear out his observation. The Jaina Ācārāṅgasutta mentions several varieties of cotton and fur stuff (II. 5. 1. 4 f). The Mahāvagga enumerates among textile goods *khomaṃ* (linen), *kappāsikaṃ* (cotton), *koseyyaṃ* (silk), *kambalaṃ* (woollen garments), *sāṇaṃ* (hemp) and *bhaṅgaṃ* (hempen cloth) (I. 30. 4). A further elaboration is made upon these, viz., *sāṇaṃ*, *sāṇasuttam* and *sāṇiyo*, i.e., hemp, hempen thread and hempen cloth, *khomaṃ* and *khomasuttam*, i.e., flax and linen thread; *kappāsikadussaṃ* and *kappāsikasuttam*, i.e., cotton cloth and cotton thread (Dn. XXIII. 29). That spinning and weaving were separate industries is evident from the Milinda (331) and the Rāmāyaṇa (II. 83. 12 ff.) lists of crafts and professions (An. III. 295). The texture of these was sometimes so fine that the down on the gourd was coarse in comparison (.....cīvarāṇi dhāremi daḥhāni yattha lūkbāṇi alābulomasāṇi, Mn. 77).

Silk was of course the commonest luxury. Carpets were made of the finest fibre cloth (varapotha-kattharaṇaṃ, Jāt. VI. 280) or with soft variegated squirrel skins (muducittakaḷandaka, Jāt. VI). Of blankets and woollen stuff there were many varieties, e.g., dyed or embroidered blankets (citrāṇ kambalāṇ) (Rām. II. 70. 19) and those spotted with lac dye (IV. 28. 24). In a long list of luxury goods to which the Brāhmaṇas are addicted, have been enumerated the *gonako* (rendered by Rhys Davids as goat's hair coverlets with very long fleece),

Textile industries.

Textile luxuries.

cittakā (patchwork counterpanes of many colours), *patikā* (white blankets), *paṭalikā* (woollen coverlets embroidered with flowers), *tulikā* (quilts stuffed with cotton wool), *vikatikā* (coverlets embroidered with figures of lions, tigers, etc.), *uddāloṃi* (rugs with fur on both sides), *ekantalomi* (rugs with fur on one side), *katthissam* (coverlets embroidered with gems), *koseyyam* (silk coverlets), *kuttakam* (carpets long enough for sixteen dancers), *hatthattharam* (elephant housings), *assattharam* (horse rugs), *rathattharam* (carriage rugs), *ajinappaveṇiṃ*, *kadalimigapavarapaccattharaṇam* (panther or antelope skins), *sauttaracchadaṃ ubhato-lohitakūpadhānaṃ* (couches covered with canopies or with crimson cushions at both ends) (Dn. I. i. 15; cf. XVII. ii. 5; Mv. V, 10. 13).¹ Blankets were made also of human hair (*kesakambalam*),² of horse's tail (*vālakambalam*)³ and of feather of owl (*ulumapakkham*) (Dn. VIII. 14, XXV. 8; Mn. 12; An. I. 181, 286). Blankets, fibrous garments and cotton fabrics with their specialities and sources of supply figure in the Arthaśāstra as well-known industrial products (II. 11). Megasthenes observed that Indians put on robes worked with gold and precious stones, and flowered garments of the finest muslin (Str. XV. i. 53-56).

Among other articles of luxury were "high and large couches," e.g., the *asandi* (moveable settees, high and six feet long)⁴ and the *pallanko* (divans with animal figures carved on the supports) (Dn. I. i. 15; An. I. 181; Mv. V. 10. 3; Jāt. I. 108); couches of ivory, wood, gold or silver (Sn. III. 146), mirrors, eye-

¹ See Sumangalavilāsinī on Brahmajālasutta 9, and the translations of Rhys Davids.

² See Sumangalavilāsinī. Cf. Ajito kesakambala. Cf. Manu XI. 93.

³ Rhys Davids: *Dialogues*, p. 231, fn. 3.

⁴ "It is there (Sat. Br. III. 35, 105) said to be of common sorts of wood and perforated; which probably means that the frame was of wood and the seat was of interlaced cane or wickerwork," *ibid.*, p. 11, fn. 4.

ointments, garlands, rouge, cosmetics, bracelets, necklaces, walking sticks, reed cases for drugs, rapiers, sunshades, embroidered slippers, turbans, diadems, whisks of yak's tail and long-fringed white robes (Dn. I. i. 55; An. I. 181). "They wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated....." (Arrian, 16).

Lac was widely cultivated and a flourishing industry thrived upon it. It was used mainly as a dye and for anointing their feet by women (Therag. 459). Apiary or bee-culture was well-known (Arth. II. 15; Rām. V. 61-63). The classical writers also give prominence to a host of edible spices, herbs, medicines, stones, dyes, resinous gums, etc., as peculiar Indian products which had a monopoly of Arabian and Roman markets (*cf.* Mv. VI. 1 ff.).

How far division of labour and specialisation in industry was achieved is shown by the splitting off of the art of arrow-making from the smithy. A fletcher (*usukāra*) straightening or bending his arrow is a very common reference (Dhp. 33, 80; Mbh. XII. 178. 12). He heats an arrow in a pan of coal, wets it with sour rice-gruel and closing one eye, looks with the other while he makes the arrow straight (*usukāro angāarakapalle usum tāpetvā kañjikenā temetvā ekaṃ akkhiṃ nimīlitvā eken'olokento ujum kāroti*, Jāt. VI. 66). From the Milinda list of crafts practising in a town it would appear that the art of arrow-making, while being separate from that of the smith (*cundā*) was separate even from the manufacture of bows (*dhanukāra*) and of bow-strings (*jiyakāra*) apart from any ornamental work thereupon.

The same was the case with carpentry. While the art or the *vaḍḍhaki* covered all woodcraft in general, the *tacchaka* (planer) and the *bhamakāra* (turner) specialised in modes of woodwork (Mv. I. 56, 396; Dhp. 80).

The Pali literature throws much light on the craft of the *vaḍḍhaki*. The Jātakas have an illuminating passage about a settlement off Benares. "They would go up the river in a vessel, and enter the forest, where they would shape beams and plans for house-building, and put together the framework of one-storey or two-storey houses, numbering all the pieces from the main post onwards; these then they brought down to the river bank, and put them all aboard; then rowing downstream again, they would build houses to order as it was required of them; after which when they received their wage, they went back again for more materials for the building, and in this way they made their livelihood" (II. 18).

The Carpenter :
house-building.

Te nāvāya uparisotam gantvā araññe gehasambhārādārūni koṭṭetvā tatth'eva ekabhūmika-dvibhūmikādi-bhede gehe sajjetvā thambhato paṭṭhāya sabbadārūsu saññam katvā nadītiram netvā nāvam āropetvā anusotena nagaram āgantvā ye yādisāni gehāni ākamkhanti tesam tādisāni katvā kahāpape gahetvā puna tatth'eva gantvā gehasambhāre āharanti. Evaṃ tesam jīvikam kappentānam.....

The passage gives valuable clues to the condition of the industry. Wood was plenty and it was used on a large scale for house-building.¹ The carpenters who are in this

¹ There is little doubt that during the period of our study timber was largely used for constructions in the Gangetic provinces (Jāt. III. 157, 317; IV. 153, 159; Mv. III. 8). It was used to build the palaces and fortifications of Pāṭaliputra, although the Arthasāstra disapproves of such use as fire finds a happy abode in wood. Conditions may have been different farther west, for the Milindapañho, composed by a western writer, says that in the eastern districts (pūvatthimesu) houses were built of combustible material like thatch and wood and were dangerous in case of fire (pp. 43, 47, 224), indicating thereby that the western countries used other and non-combustible materials. In this respect the distinction between towns and villages should be noted. The village huts were built chiefly with wattle (kaṭṭha), withies (valli), grass (tipa) and clay (mattika) Mn. 28, Mil. 43; Mbh. XII. 261. 7) but the application of brick, stone and cement along with wood is testified to (Cv. V. 11. 6; 14. 3; 16. 2; 17. 2; VI. 3. 3f, 10; 17. 1). Arrian draws the distinction that cities on river banks or sea-coasts "being meant to last for a time" mainly consisted of woodworks, while those on "commanding

case a firm of building contractors resided in proximity to the sources of their raw-materials, *i.e.*, to forests. At the same time they must be within easy reach of the town where they have to receive and execute orders; and the river afforded the most convenient facility for transport. Accordingly the settlement was made on a river bank, midway between a town and a forest. They brought wood from the forest, worked the pieces at home, and carrying them downstream fitted them in the place required.

Besides houses the carpenters took contracts for bedstead (*mañcam*), chair (*pīṭham*), etc., *i.e.*, furnitures in general (*Jāt.* IV. 159). A Brāhmaṇa carpenter

His craft.

'gained his livelihood by bringing wood from the forest and making carts' (IV. 207). Chariot-making and ship-building came within the purview of his trade and called for considerable skill in wood-craft. He is seen plying his trade with hatchet, adze, chisel, and mallet (*vāsipharasūnikhādanamuggare*) and the measuring line (*kālasutta*) (*Jāt.* II. 405; IV. 344) which he draws out at length or winds up short (*Dn.* XXII. 2) or which he puts round a log of wood with black dust to guide his saw (*tacchako kālasuttam anulometvā rukkham tacchati*, *Mil.* 413). He bends a log of wood (*dārun namayanti tacchakā*, *Dhp.* 145) and discarding soft parts of the wood takes the hard parts'' (*pheggum apaharitvā sāram ādiyati*, *Mil.* 413) as obviously in the case of ebony of which the outside is soft and inside hard.

The carpenter was not the only agency engaged in house-building. The building of a king's palace was the venue of as many as eighteen manual arts (*Jāt.*

The architect.

VI. 427). Among them the foremost place was that of the architect¹ who is skilled in divining

situations'' were built of brick and mud. The reminiscence of the former practice survives now in Burma which is still rich in forests and timber.

¹ For the workmanship of the civic architect see *supra*, Ch. I.

•good sites (vatthuvijjācariyo, II. 297, IV. 324) and who is sometimes “endued with great intelligence and well-versed in the knowledge of laying foundations, a *sūta* by caste, well-acquainted with the *Purāṇas*,”—

sthapatir buddhisampanno vāstuvidyāviśāradaḥ
ityabrabit sūtradbāraḥ sūtaḥ paurāṇikastadā

—Mbh. I. 51. 15.

The stone-cutter was his accomplice (*pāsāṇakoṭṭaka*), an expert in quarrying and shaping stone (*pāsāṇe uppāṭetvā koṭṭeti*) and capable of hollowing a cavity in a crystal (*Jāt. I. 478 f*). Innumerable archeological finds testify to the growth of his craft. He made flights of steps leading up into a house and laid foundations for the woodwork of which the upper part was built. He carved pillars and bas reliefs. He faced a tank with stone-lining and equipped it with steps and balustrade (*Cv. V. 17. 2*; *Rudradāman's Junagadh Rock In.*). And he did finer work such as making a crystal bowl or a stone coffer, excellent specimens of which have been discovered in the Sakiya tope, and chiselling exquisite works of sculpture on topes and temples.

To the work of the architect, carpenter and stone-cutter, the painter (*cittakāra*) gave the finishing touch. The clay and woodwork of houses was covered with fine *cūṇam* plaster on which the painter painted frescoes (*Cv. VI. 17. 1*; *Sum. 42, 84*; *Vin. II. 151*; *IV. 47, 61, 298*; *Mil. 331*). But the painter's like the sculptor's art was not the handmaid of architecture because of the facts that the chisel and the brush had a free berth in frescoes and mural decorations and that accordingly they are treated in the *Śilpaśāstras* in subsidiary sections of the *Sthāpatyaveda*. Painting flourished as a finished and independent art. A passing reference in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act I, gives a glimpse of the painter at work. “I who used

to sit in the inner courtyard and was fed on highly favoured sweets with a hundred pans around me, like a painter surrounded with paint-pans, from each of which I touched a bit and pushed back". About the working in his mind with the outer operations, the Attha-sālinī speaks in greater detail, "In painting, the painter's masterpiece (caraṇa)¹ is more artistic than the rest of the pictures. An artistic design occurs to the painter of masterpieces—that such and such pictures should be drawn in such and such a way. Through this artistic design there arise operations of the mind (or artistic operation) accomplishing such things as sketching the outline, putting on the paint, touching up and embellishing. Then in the picture known as the masterpiece is effected a certain central artistic figure. Then the remaining portion of the picture is completed by the work of planning in mind as, 'above this figure let this be; underneath, this; on both sides, this.' Thus all classes of arts in this world specific or generic are achieved by the mind. And owing to its capacity thus to produce a variety or diversity of effects in action, the mind, which achieves all these arts is itself artistic like the arts themselves. Nay, it is even more artistic than the art itself, because the latter cannot execute every design perfectly. For that reason the Blessed One has said 'Bhikkhus, have you seen a masterpiece of painting?' 'Yea Lord.' 'Bhikkhus, that masterpiece of art is designed by the mind. Indeed, Bhikkhus, the mind is even more artistic than that masterpiece.'"²

The dyer and washerman (rajaka) was probably the same person but different from the dye-manufacturer (rangakāra) (Mil. 331; Dn. II. 14; Mn. 56; Rām. II. 83. 15; Manu, IV. 216).
The washerman or dyer.

¹ Vicarapacittam,—com. Sn. III. 151. A show-piece selected for exhibition by an itinerant artist.

² Cf. Sn. III. 151.

ing the dye (Mbh. XIII. 91. 2). He gave the dye of blue, yellow, red or saffron (mañjetṭha) to a piece of cloth after cleansing it properly (Mn. 7 ; An. III. 230). Regarding his terms of business, the Arthaśāstra lays down that he shall be fined 12 *panas* for selling, mortgaging and letting out for hire others' clothes. Clothes merely to be cleaned are to be returned within 1 to 4 nights, clothes which are to be given thin colouring (tanurāgam) 5 nights; those which are to be made blue 6 nights; those which are to be made as red as flower, lac or saffron or those which require much skill and care 7 nights (puṣpa-lākṣā-mañjiṣṭhā-raktam guruparikarma-yatnopacāryam jātyam vāsaḥ sapta-rātrikam). Otherwise charges will be forfeited (IV. 1. Munich MS.).

Among other specialised crafts were those of the florist or garland-maker (mālākāra, Dn. II. 14; Mn, 56 ; Jāt. III. 405 ; Mil. 331), of the manufacturer of sugar and sugar-candy (Str. XV. i. 37), of the oil-presser (tailika, tilapisaka, Manu. IV. 84 f ; Mbh. XII. 174. 25, XIII. 90 ; Nasik Cave In. 15. vii), of the salt-maker (loṇakāra, Mn. 56, 128 ; Jāt. III. 489), of the curry-maker and provision-vendor (odanika, III, 49 ; ālārikā sūdā, Mil. 331 ; bhojanadātr, Arth. IV. 8) making a luscious display of his stuff (nānāggarasānam dibbabhojanānam bhājanāni pūretvā odanikāpaṇam pasāretvā, Jāt. I. 397), and of the tailor (tunnavāya, Jāt. VI. 366 ; Mil. 331) who used a thimble or finger-protector (paṭiggaho) when sewing (Cv. V. 11. 5). Among the poorer crafts were those of the woodcutter (kaṭṭhahārakā, Mil. 331 ; Str. XV. i. 50) and the grasscutter (tiṇahāraka, Mil. p. 331) who works with sickle (asitam), ties the bundles with a rope (tiṇa-bandbanarajjum) to a pole (kājan) and sells them in the city (Jāt. III. 129). Thera Kappaṭakura who in his young days supported himself going about clad in rags, pan in hand, seeking for rice grains (kura), when grown up maintained

Other industries.

himself by selling grass which he reaped in the forest (Paramatthadīpani on Pss. 199 ff).

Strabo speaks disparagingly not only about the mining activities of the Indians, but also about their industrial propensities in general.

Adaptability of craftsmen.

“They do not pursue accurate knowledge in any line, except that of medicine; in the case of some arts, it is even accounted vicious to carry their study far, the art of war, for instance.” Presumably his authority derived the information from the priestly denunciation of all manual pursuits. For elsewhere he himself quotes Nearchus speaking of the remarkable adaptability of native craftsmen. They saw sponges used by the Macedonians for the first time and immediately manufactured imitations of them with fine thread and wool dying them with the same colour. They quickly picked up other Greek articles such as scrapers and oil-flasks used by athletes. For writing letters they used species of fine closely woven tissue. A study of the plastic arts amply bear out that the Indians had their own designs and ideals, but these did not stand in their way of quickly mastering foreign ideas that commended.

Among urban crafts the Milinda and the Rāmāyaṇa lists include jewellers (maṇikārā), rope-makers (rajjukārā), comb-makers (kocchakārā); arms-makers (śastropajīvinah), makers of fancy-fans from peacock feathers (māyurakāḥ), those living on *krakacas* (krākacikāḥ), borers of pearls, etc. (vedhakāḥ), *rocakāḥ* (?) and nector-makers (sudhākārāḥ) (cf. Rām. III. 90). Brewery and distillery, pottery, wicker-work and leather-work¹ complete the general picture of industrial economy. The town bazar presenting an imposing array of flower shop (pupphāpaṇam), perfumery (gandbāpaṇam), fruit

The city bazar.

¹ These industries are treated in more detail in Bk. V, Ch. III and Bk. VI, Ch. IV.

shop (phalāpaṇam), pharmacy of antidotes (agadāpaṇam), medical stores (osadhāpaṇam), stores of ambrosia (amatāpaṇam), jewellery (ratanāpaṇam) and stores of all other sundry merchandise (sabbāpaṇam) (Mil. 332) was the general sight in all cities and not in the Indus Valley alone. In the Maurya state it was necessary to employ civil officers to superintend the occupations of artisans like wood-cutters, carpenters, blacksmiths and miners. Of the six

State and Municipal control.

bodies of the municipal board of Pāṭali-putra, the very first "look after everything relating to the industrial arts" (Str. XV. i. 50). Competition, unfair dealings, deceitful practices against customers, smuggling and cornering, evasion of state revenues and municipal tithes, all these evils of a thriving industrial life demanded interference of the state as far as it could extend its hand. The Arthaśāstra, the great exponent of this school, makes a clean sweep of laissez-faire practices and seeks to inaugurate a rigorous state control to which even Friedrich List offers no parallel.

How far Industry was mechanised is a difficult problem for study. There is little evidence of the use of power like those of air, water or electricity, if the stories of flying vehicles and miraculous arms in the Epics are dismissed as legendary. It cannot be ascertained what sort of engine (yantra) was fitted in the boat which Vidura built to help the Pāṇḍavas escape from the lac house (Mbh. I. 143. 5). Nor can the mythical element be sifted out from the feats of a Bodhisatta mechanic who builds a house with "eighty great doors and sixty-four small doors which all by the pressure of one peg closed, and by the pressure of one peg opened"; and with "some hundreds of lamp-cells also fitted with machinery, so that when one was opened all opened—and when one was shut all were shut" (Jāt. VI. 432). But there is little doubt about a considerable progress in mechanical devices, applied

Mechanisation ?

to various industries, as for example, evinced in the chapter on Armoury Superintendent in the Arthaśāstra (II. 18). The commentaries on the art of mechanical engineering (mahā-yantrapravartana) in Manu (XI. 64)¹ are informative in this respect. They go severally as "constructing dams across rivers in order to stop the water" (Medh., Gov. and Kull.), "making machines for killing great animals such as boars" (Nār.) or "making great machines such as sugar-mills" (Nandana).

From these explanatory notes and copious other evidences it appears that mechanical contrivances were called for by the great irrigation projects undertaken to combat flood and drought, by armaments and techniques of warfare and by machines like the sugarcane-presser (Jāt. I. 339 ; II. 240),² the oil-presser (Mbh. XII. 174. 25 ; Manu IV. 84 f), the water-pump or hydraulic engine (odayantra, Nasik Cave In. 15. vii) and the loom with its shuttle and wheel and spokes (Cv. V. 28. 2 ; Mbh. 1. 3. 144). The devices of a double water-strainer and fitter (Com. on 'daṇḍaparissāvanam' and 'ottharakam', Cv. V. 13. 3) and of a door with poles turning about on a socket (V. 14. 3 ; VI. 3. 7) were common things. The fictions of Nala bridging the sea between the Cape and Ceylon and of Maya raising a picturesque town on the site of a forest cannot be altogether divested of reality. The great monoliths of the Maurya epoch estimated at about 50 tons each and their transport and erection at such

¹ This craft and the superintendence of mines and factories are branded low. It seems that mechanisation and heavy industries were deprecated by the orthodox and priestly class then as now. A *snātaka* is not to accept present from an oil-presser and an oil-press is as bad as ten slaughter-houses (Manu, IV. 84 f.). Of course very few handicrafts were exempt from stigma. See *infra*, Bk. VI. Ch. IV.

² It may be noted that the Indians knew the preparation of sugar-candy which was foreign to the Greeks and appeared like "stones dug up which are of the colour of frankincense and sweeter than fig or honey" (Str. XV. i. 37).



distant places as Topra near Umbala, Sanchi in Bhopal and the Nepalese Terai are no mean engineering feats. If the lion capital of Sarnath is a testimony to Maurya craftsmanship these are standing monuments of mechanical development.

CHAPTER IV

INDUSTRIAL GEOGRAPHY

Geographical distribution of industries.

Animals. Horse—northwest. Elephant, ivory—east. Skins—north, north-west.

Food crops. Herbs, roots and gums; malabathrum, spikenard, nard, costus, lycium, bdellium. Aromatics; sandal, aloe.

Dyes. Grape wine—Afghanistan.

Minerals. Gold—three varieties, ant-gold; Tibetan mines. Other centres. Silver. Copper. Other metals. Rock salt—Ormenous Range. Diamond. Precious stones—south.

Pearl-fishery—south. Sea-fishing—south.

Textile industry—Benares, Bengal, other centres. Cotton. Wool. Silk.

Tabulated list of industries and sources of supply.

Many of the natural and industrial products described in the preceding chapter were scattered over all parts of the country. But some were specialities of particular localities from where they were distributed to others.

The forests and mountains abounded with wild animals and birds. The horse and the elephant were prize animals in great demand with kings and nobles. The best breed of these were not to be found everywhere. Of the former, the *Arthaśāstra* ascribes the best to Kamboja,¹ Sindhu, Āraṭṭa² and Vanāyu;³ and

¹ Stein places it in eastern Afghanistan (Rāj. I. p. 136), some farther north identifying with Pamir Badakshan (Pt. Jaychand Narang Vidyalankar: *Bhāratiya Itihāsa ki Rūparekhā*, pp. 470 ff). Raychaudhuri, on the basis of Mbh. VII. 4 5. identifies it with Rājapūra or Rajaori (between the Jhelum and the Chenab)—*Political History*, p. 125 f. The latter is strengthened by the appearance of the synonymous adjunct *nadīja* and by the use of *jalaja* or herbs of water for trapping horses.

² See fn. 1, next page.

³ Suggested conjecturally (a) to be Arabia both being famous for horses, (b) to be Van or Urartu from philological similarity, but Van was never noted for its horse, (c) placed in the N. W. Frontier by the *Padmapurāṇa* (Svarga, Adi. Ch. III.)

the middlings to Bālhika,¹ Pāpeya,² Sauvīra,³ Taitala,⁴ the rest being ordinary (II. 30). In the Jātakas and in the Mahābhārata, the Sind variety comes foremost (Jāt. I. 178, 181; II. 166; III. 338; Dhp. 322; Mbh. VI. 91. 3 f; VII. 43.2) along with the Kāmbojas or those of the river-country (Jāt. IV. 464; Kambojakā jalajen' eva assam, V. 445; Mbh. VII. 36. 36; VIII. 38. 13; XII. 36. 14; Kāmbojānām nadījānām, VI. 91. 3 f). Āraṭṭa (Mbh. VI. 91. 3 f) and Vanāyu (VI. 36. 36; VIII. 38. 13) also figure as famous sources of supply, the latter of the white-coloured breed. Bālhika appears (VII. 36. 36) in the list as well as Mahī⁵ and Parvatīya⁶ (VI. 91. 3 f.; VII. 36. 36) and the trans-Himalayan region around Lake Mānasa where Arjuna obtained as tribute during his *digvijaya* many of the species called *tittiri* and *kalmaṣānmaṇḍūka* (II. 28. 6). In general the source for pedigree steeds was the north-western regions including Sind, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier and Afghanistan. The north-west has been traditionally associated with this trade; the horse-dealers from Uttarāpatha⁷ bring their animals for sale to Benares (Jāt. II. 31. 287); horses of various species are among the tributes brought to Arjuna by the northern monarchs (Mbh. 28.

¹ Identified by Lassen with Balkh or Bactria. But references in the Mahābhārata assign it to the Punjab as synonymous with Madras, Āraṭṭas and Jārtikas. On this basis (and Mbh. VIII, 44) it is placed west of the Ravi, the Madra city of Śākala being located there.

² Pāpa? There are two Pāpas or Pāvas, one in Gorakhpur, the city of the Malles and another in Bihar.

³ Northern Gujarat.

⁴ Taitila is Kalinga according to Monier Williams.

⁵ Is it river Māhī, north of the river Narmadā,—the Mophis of Ptolemy and Mais of the Periplus? There is another river Mahī, tributary of the Ganges in Saran district, one of the five rivers frequently enumerated in Buddhist literature.

⁶ This seems to be Ptolemy's Parautoi (17. 3) and Parsyetai (18. 3) and on his reference, is placed in the west and middle of Paropanisdai, or southern and eastern sides of the Hindukush. Have the Aśvakas which is the Aspasioi of Alexander's historians through the Iranian form Aspa (=horse) located in the hill country north of the Kabul anything to do with its supply of horses?

⁷ It included the Punjab, Kashmir, the N. W. Frontier and part of Afghanistan.

18 f.), and this is among the chief articles of merchandise coming to the plains along the trade-routes from the Himalayas (Arth. VII. 12).¹

As for elephants, the Arthaśāstra says that those of Kalinga, Anga, Karūśa² and Prācyā are best; of Daśārṇa³ and western countries of middle quality; of Surāṣṭra⁴ and Pañcajana⁵ of low quality (I. 2). In the Kuru war men of Anga are found specialised in elephantry (Mbh. VIII. 22. 18) and the battle episodes have many references to the effect that Prāgjyotiṣa of Bengal (or Assam?) was rich in elephant (VI. 100. 13; VII. 26) of a quality unequalled in the Kuru and Pāṇḍava armies. So, as the best stallion came from the west, the best elephant was supplied from the east, from the forests of Orissa, Bhagalpur and Bengal while those of the great Daṇḍaka forest, i.e., in the south-east of the Vindhya, of further west and of Gujarat were comparatively inferior.

The settlements near about these forests must have supplied ivory and specialised in ivory works. According to the Periplus "the region of Dosarena yields the ivory known as Dosarenic" (62). It may not be wild to conjecture the origin of the name Dantapura,⁶ the capital of Kalinga to the same flourishing industry. Ivory-workers are seen pursuing a

¹ These quarters still supply the finest breed of horses for the army and the races.

² Pāṇini assigns it in the Deccan (IV, i. 178). In the Viṣṇupurāṇa the Karūśas are placed along with the Mālavas along the Pāripātra mountains in the west. In the Matsya (114. 46-48) they are said to be dwellers of Dakṣiṇāpatha along with the Āṭavyas, Savaras, Polindas, Vindhyaśuśikas, Vaidarbhas, and Daṇḍakas. Thus Karūśa is in the skirts of the western Vindhya.

But Karūśa here seems to be an eastern country. According to Bhāgavata it is another name for Puṇḍra (X. 66) which is more appropriate here.

³ In the Central Provinces.

⁴ Kathiawad.

⁵ Ābhīra—Monier Williams. Literally 'land of the five peoples.'

⁶ The ascription of the name to Buddha's tooth relic is a later invention. See *supra*, p. 172.

prosperous trade in Benares (Jāt. I. 320 f.; II. 197), in Ayodhyā (Rām. II. 83. 12 ff.), in Vedisā (Bhilsa—Sanchi In.) and in the Tamil countries (Peri. 56) obviously with materials imported from the above-mentioned sources.¹

The sources for horses listed above appear also as sources of animal skins. The varieties given in the Arthaśāstra (II. 11) are mostly assign-

Skins.

ed by the commentator to the Himalayan borders and skins are among the wares purveying in the plains from the Himalayan route (VII. 12). Arjuna obtained skins during his promenade in north Harivarṣa (Mbh. II. 28. 16). The northern Kirātas brought this as tribute to the Kuru king among other Himalayan products (II. 52 10 f.). Deer-skins and skins of Ranku deer were presented to Yudhiṣṭhira by the king of Kamboja (II. 49. 19) and by the Bālbikas (II. 51. 26), *i.e.*, from the Punjab.

About the distribution of food-crops information is meagre. In the Periplus, Abiria (Ābhīra

Food-crops.

in Gujarat) is a fertile country yielding wheat and rice, sesame oil and clarified butter (41). This is confirmed by the further reference to these as the major articles of export from Barygaza, the seaport nearest to the Ābhīras (14, 31, 32). But there is abundant evidence that wheat and rice and many other cereals were grown over almost any part of the country.²

References to sugarcane come mostly from the Madhyadeśa through which flows the river Ikṣumatī or Oxymagis, *i.e.*, the United Provinces or the Ganges doab which, according to the report of 1931 produced 51.7 p.c. of the total cane crop of India.

¹ This craft is now practically confined to Mysore. Travancore, Delhi and Murshidabad follow in order.

² See Bk. I. Ch. VIII.

In the classical works, India has been noted as the chief producer of aromatic or medicinal herbs, roots and resinous gums. Prominent among this group are nard which "holds the first place among unguents" (Pliny, XII. 26); costus, an aromatic root; myrrh, another medicinal and aromatic gum; cardamum, a medicinal herb; spikenard, a fragrant herb made into oil or ointment; macir, the red bark of a large root used for medicine (Pliny, XII. 16); pepper, ginger and malabathrum used as condiments.

According to Ptolemy, the best malabathrum or cassia leaf is produced in Kirrhadia (2. 16), a town near the eastern coast of Bengal.¹ It was brought down to the port of Tāmralipti for export (Peri. 63). An interesting study is given how the Besatae, a Tibeto-Burman tribe of the Himalayas, transacted in silent trade in their malabathrum with the people of This (China) (65). It was grown also in the interior of the Tamil countries reaching the ports of Tyndis, Muziris and Nelcynda for export outside (56).

Spikenard is generally discovered in the same regions, *i.e.*, in the north-west and the north-east as well as in Malabar (56).² In order of its source its varieties are termed Caspapyrene (*i.e.*, of Kaśyapapura),³ Paropanise (of Paropanisadai or the Hindukush) and Kabolitic (of Kabul) (48). According to Strabo, the land of Gedrosia (southern Beluchistan) produced aromatic plants, particularly spikenard and myrrh which Alexander's army used for tent roofs and beds (XV. ii. 3). On the other hand the famous Gangetic spikenard

¹ Lassen places it between Chittagong and the mouth of the Arakan river,—Ind. Ant., III, pp. 235-37. Malabathrum (tejpāt) is now obtained in Sylhet, Assam, Rangpur and the valleys of the Himalayas.

² Malabar is now the chief source of edible spices.

³ Stein identifies this with Kashmir, Cunningham with Multan.

came from the Himalayas to the ports of Tāmralipti and of the far south (56, 63).

Costus, lycium, nard and bdellium were exported from the port of Barbaricum at the mouth of the Indus (39). This, Sind or regions farther north, may be the "upper country" from where costus and bdellium were carried through Ozene to Barygaza (48). Nard grew abundantly in the country of Gedrosia (Arr. Anab. VI. 22).

The distribution of medicinal and aromatic plants cannot be properly studied from the classical authors alone who wrote with knowledge of the seaports serving as outlets of these wares and with partial ignorance of the interior. The indigenous literature which are more reliable on this point scarcely go into details and when they do, it is difficult to identify Indian names with foreign.

Scents. There are notices on scents in general terms. The Jaina

Kalpāsūtra refers to scents of Turushka or Turkestan (100). In the Kuru war the fighters from Andhra are said to be used to rub powdered scents on their body (Mbh. VIII. 12. 16). About sandal there is more detailed information. The Arthasāstra observes several varieties all

Sandal. of which, according to the commentary, are specialities of Kāmarūpa or Assam

barring only a few, viz., the Aśokagrāmika which belongs to Ceylon, the Daivasabheya which is of a city and subjacent hill in Western India producing the lotus-scented (padma-gandhi) species and the Kāleyaka which is the product of Svarṇabhūmi¹ (II. 11). Philostratos of Lemnos, biographer of Appollonius of Tyana (cir. 172 A.D.), writes that on the banks of the Hyphasis (Beas) "grew the trees from which unguent was procured with which bride and bridegroom were anointed, that Venus might be propitious to their nuptials." Another primary source was the

¹ Suvarṇabhūmi is Burma or Sumatra. See *infra*, Bk. III. Ch. V.

Malaya hills. A verse in the Rājanighaṇṭu, an Ayurvedic work, says that the sandal produced in Beṭṭa mountain near the Malaya hill is called Beṭṭa. This is obviously Mount Bettigo of Ptolemy (1.22) which is the southern portion of the Western Ghats. This sandal of the Malaya hills and the sandal and aloe of the Dardara hills¹ were exploited by the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas (Mbh. II. 52. 33 ff).

Aloe.

Sandal, aloe, and other perfumes were produced by the people of the Bengal coast called the Mleccha tribes (Mbh. II. 30. 27), in the land of Benares (kāśīkacandana, Jāt. V. 302; An. I. 145; Mil. 348), in Barbaricum of the lower Indus (barbarika—Dhanvantarīya Nighaṇṭu, Rājanighaṇṭu), the variety which is white and scentless and among the Kirātas of the north-western Himalayan slopes (Mbh. II. 52. 10 f.) who recall the Kirhadai of Ptolemy. It reached down to Barygaza to be shipped to the ports of the Persian Gulf (Peri. 36).²

¹ Cf. Kalpasutra, 100. Pargiter suggests it to be the Nilgiris.

² The list envisages a wide distribution of *candana* besides in Mysore and Malabar where sandalwood is now confined. The soil and climate of these latter are naturally fitted for the growth and in former times these led all other places as appears from several evidences (binā malayam anyatra candanam na vivardhate—Amarakoṣa; Raghu, IV. 51; Pañcatantra, I. 42; Kāvya-mīmāṃsā; the Tamil epic Cilappatikaram). The earlier growth of *candana* in other places than these which in the botanists' opinion do not offer the requisite geological and climatic environments may be explained by either of two circumstances: firstly, soil conditions may have changed or proper attempts may not have been made in these days to cultivate sandal in those places; secondly, *candana* may not be quite conterminous with sandal proper. It undoubtedly implied scented varieties absolutely unrelated to the *Santalum Album* as the Mysore sandal is called for which the Indian term is *pīṭacandana*. The *raktacandana* and *kucandana* are completely different species and are now grown in many places. It is not improbable that several scented woods went under the general name of *candana* the meaning of which was narrowed down culminating in course of time in the *Santalum Album* Linn.

There is another possibility. Some of the places mentioned, particularly Assam and the land of the Kirātas, may have been the route along which sandal came to India from China.

For the discussion whether *Santalum Album* was an indigenous plant or an exotic one naturalised in India from the Timor islands see C. E. C. Fischer: Where did the Sandalwood Tree Evolve? Jour. Bom. Nat. His. Soc., Vol. XL. No. 8.

* Of plants made into dyes there were many. Those like lac and *kusumbha* flower were common articles over India. So probably was indigo (Pliny, XXXIII. 4), which was exported outside from Barbaricum (Peri. 39).

Dyes.

Varieties of spirituous liquor are mentioned, *e.g.*, the *soma* juice, the *vāruṇi*, etc. But the best perhaps was the grape wine from the vines of Kapisā (Afghanistan) (Pāṇini, IV. 2. 99; Arth. II. 25).

Among metals, gold is the most common occurrence.

Gold.

Herodotus writes, "There is abundance of gold there, partly dug, partly brought down by the rivers, and partly seized by the manner I have described" (III. 106). The first is the gold obtained from mines. The second is alluvial gold or gold dust carried down by certain rivers presumably from their bed or from their rocky source. The third category, the ant-gold celebrated by all classical writers from Herodotus to Pliny and noticed in the Mahābhārata was in fact nothing but mine gold. About this Strabo gives the following account :

"Among the Dardai, a great tribe of Indians, who inhabit the mountains on the eastern borders, there is an elevated plateau

Ant-gold.

about 3,000 stadia in circuit. Beneath the surface there are mines of gold, and here accordingly are found the ants which dig for that metal. They are not inferior in size to wild foxes. They run with amazing speed, and live by the produce of the chase. The time when they dig is winter.¹ They throw up heaps of earth as moles do at the mouth of the mines. The gold dust has to be subjected to a little boiling. The people of the neighbourhood, coming secretly

¹ "The miners of Thek Jalungprefer working in winter.....as the frozen soil there stands well and is not likely to trouble them much by falling in." J.R.A.S., Vol. 39, pp. 149 f.

with beasts of burden carry this off. If they come openly the ants would attack them and pursue them if they fled, and would destroy both them and their cattle. So, to effect the robbery without being observed, they lay down in several different places pieces of the flesh of wild beasts, and when the ants are by this device dispersed, they carry off the gold dust. This they sell to any trader they meet with while it is still in the state of ore, for the art of fusing metals is unknown to them " (XV. i. 44).

Arrian quotes Nearchos having seen many skins of these animals in the Macedonian Camp (15; cf. Pliny, VI, XI. 31). These mythic ants, equipped with horns, "not inferior in size to wild foxes," gifted with "amazing speed" and living upon chase, capable of destroying men and their cattle have not been satisfactorily identified. The most plausible theory advanced so far is that the whole is a confused and mythic version of the mining operation of the Tibetans who dug in winter, whose ferocious black-and-tan coloured mastiffs guarded dwellings and mines as even now and whose pickaxes were grafted by hearsay as horns on the animals.¹ Whatever the identity of these ants it cannot be doubted that there were gold mines in

Tibetan and Hima-
layan plateau.

Dardistan or the Tibetan highlands or farther west in the Himalayan tracts.

During the sacrifice of Rājasūya the people of Meru and Mandara,² i.e., of modern Garhwal, brought to Yudhiṣṭhira heaps of gold measured in jars and

¹ See Indian Antiquary, Vol. IV. pp. 225 ff. where arguments are adduced to prove that "the gold-digging ants were originally neither, as the ancients supposed, real ants nor as so many eminent men of learning have supposed, larger animals mistaken for ants on account of their appearance or subterranean habits, but Tibetan miners whose mode of life and dress was in the remotest antiquity what they are at the present day."—McCrindle : *Megasthenes*.

² Mandāra is in Bhagalpur district, 35 miles south of Bhagalpur (Mbh. XIII. 19; III. 162. 164). But Meru, the "mountain of Gold" of the Purāṇas stood at the centre of the trans-Himalayan tract of Ilāvṛta, i.e., in Garhwal, in whose neighbourhood must have been another Mandāra.

raised from underneath the earth by ants (pipilikam nāma uddhrtam yat pipilikaiḥ). The Kirātas of the north-western Himalayas brought along with other articles of tribute gold of great splendour procured from the mountains (Mbh. II. 52. 10 f). Because of the reputation of this gold along the upper courses of the Indus among the westerners, the Indus has been supposed to be one of the four rivers of Paradise in the Book of Genesis, viz., the Pishon, "which compasseth the whole land of Havilah where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good."¹

There were other sources of the metal. The author of the Periplus heard that there were gold mines near Tāmralipti or Tamluk and that

Other sources.

there was a gold coin called *caltis* (63). Schoff suggests that this might have been the gold of the Chotanagpur plateau, 75-150 miles west to the mouth of the Ganges.²

Rivers like the Son (from *svaṇa* or *suvaṇa*) known as Erannoboas or Hiranyavahā,³ carried alluvial gold in considerable quantities. The so-called Mleccha tribes of Bengal brought gold as tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira (Mbh. II. 30. 27). Further east was the island (or land) of Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadwīpa identified with Burma or preferably with Sumatra,⁴ owing its name to its gold mines (*suvaṇa-rūpakadwīpaṃ suvarṇākaramaṇḍitam*, Rām. IV. 40. 30).⁵ Pliny states that extensive gold mines were operated on the

¹ Havilah is identified with Mānasa-sarovara.

² Where many old workings along with the outcrops of the veins have been discovered.

³ The Son is referred to as Hiranyavaha in Bāṇa's Harṣacaritam.

⁴ The alternative Suvarṇadwīpa is a strong support for Sumatra (*cf.* Yavabhūmi and Yavadwīpa for Java) which has always been noted for its abundance of gold. In popular parlance the name however went for the East Indian islands including Burma and Malay. See R. C. Majumdar: *Suvarṇadwīpa*.

⁵ Pliny is more sceptic. "Beyond the mouth of the Indus are Chryses and Argyre (identified by Yule with Burma and Arakan) rich, as I believe in metals. For I cannot readily believe, what is asserted by some writers that their soil is impregnated with gold and silver" (VI).

other side of Mount Capitalia (Abu) (VI).¹ The heavy tribute paid in 360 talents of gold dust annually by the Indian satrapy of the Persian Empire, i.e., the country west of the Indus (Herodotus, III. 97) may have been obtained from the northern mountains or from some local centre. But gold was far more plentiful in the south than in the north (Arth. VII. 12). Pliny mentions gold on the Malabar coast obviously coming from the mines of Mysore.² And "from Megasthenes we learn that Taprobane is more productive of gold than India itself" (VI. 22).

To some of these sources silver is attributed along with gold. As "gold is very abundant among the Dardae" so is "silver among the Setae" (Sāta or Sātaka near the Dāradas) (Pliny; VI). In Pliny's work silver mine is spotted along with gold near Abu.³ According to Ptolemy Ceylon had mines of gold, silver and other metals (4. 1). The Bengal tribes brought silver as well as gold to the Pāṇḍavas. In Greek Arakan went as the silver country.⁴ Sugrīva's search party in the east came across the land of silver mines (bhūmiṇca rajatākaram, Rām. IV. 40. 23)⁵ and farther east the island of Rūpakadwīpa, thus strongly refuting the scepticism of Pliny whether there were gold or silver mines in far eastern regions.

¹ On this authority, Cunningham places Pliny's Oraturce south of this region, on the Gulf of Cambay and identifies it with Sophir or Ophir of the Bible from where the Tyrian navy carried away gold and precious stones in the days of Solomon. For other identifications of Sophir or Ophir, see *supra*, pp. 175 f.

² The quartz reefs of Kolar are now the source of 98 p. c. of India's total gold supply.

³ The only silver mines now known in India.

⁴ Probably a transliteration of an ancient Burmese name for Arakan. "There are no silver mines in Arakan and considering the geological structure of the country, it is almost certain there never were any." V. Ball: Presidential Address to the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, Mar. 19, 1883.

⁵ The northern Shan States of Upper Burma now supply much of India's silver requirement.

On the whole silver seems to have been a much rarer metal than gold. In Indian and foreign literature, particularly in Pali works, reference to it is far less common than to the latter.¹ The sources of other metals of lesser value are referred to even less frequently for obvious reasons. They were not worth bringing as precious tributes to propitiate conquering monarchs nor would they interest foreigners concerned with trade transactions or whose primary source of knowledge was trade relation. In using our authorities these underlying motives which detract from their completeness should always be borne in mind.

Other metals.

The Periplus notices copper among the exports from Barygaza (36). The source is not known.

Copper.

The metal is not extensively worked at present. But formerly it was smelted in large quantities in South India, Rajputana and at various parts of the outer Himalayas where a Killas-like rock persists along the whole range and is known to be copper-bearing in Kulu, Gárhwal, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan.² Schoff supposes that this might also be European copper of the Parthian Empire re-shipped to the West.

There were rocks yielding salt. "There are mountains also formed of native salt as, for instance

Rock salt.

Ormenus in India where it is cut out like blocks from a quarry and is continually reproduced, whence a greater revenue accrues to the sovereign of the country than they derive from gold and pearls" (Pliny, XXXI. 7). "In the territory of the Sopeithes there is a mountain

¹ Mrs. Rhys Davids : J. R. A. S., 1901.

² Watt : *Commercial Products of India*, p. 401. Remains of old excavation and exhausted mines are found in several places near about Darjeeling and Jainti, in Bargunda, Manbhum and the Santhal Parganas, in Singbhum where the deposits are said to have been exploited by the Seraks or lay Jains about or before the Christian era, in Tamkhan of the Indore state, in Harpat Nag of Kashmir, in Nellore of Madras, in the Narnul district of Patiala and in Rajputana, Sikkim, etc.

composed of fossil salt, sufficient for the whole of India." (Str. XV. i. 30). This salt-range extended westward from the Hydaspes (Jhelum) towards the Indus.¹ The Arthaśāstra assigns rock salt to Sind (Saindhava, II. 15).

Diamond. The Arthaśāstra enumerates diamonds of several varieties the sources of which are attributed by the commentary to Vidarbha (sabhārāṣṭraka), Kośala (madhyamarāṣṭraka), Kāśī (Kāśmaka) and Kalinga (indravāṇaka) (II. 11). Within Kalinga falls Ptolemy's "Mouth of the River Adamas" (I. 17) or Diamonds, which, observes Yule, was in all probability the Sank branch of the Brāhmaṇī from where diamonds were got in the days of Mogul splendour. And near about Vidarbha was probably "Kosa, where are diamonds" (I. 65) which is located by Lassen on the upper Varadā in the neighbourhood of Baital. A third source was "the Sabarai, towards the Ganges in whose country diamond is found in great abundance" (I. 80) identified by Cunningham with the Śavaras or Suars and placed by Yule farther north in Dosarene towards Sambhalpur.

Precious stones. But according to the Arthaśāstra itself, diamonds and precious stones were a speciality of the south rather than of the north (VII. 12). In the Periplus it is stated that from the interior of the Tamil countries diamonds, transparent stones and sapphires were brought down to the seaports of Tyndis, Muziris and Nelcynda to be shipped to Arabia and Rome (56).² These

¹ McCrindle : *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, on Strabo, V. ii. 6.

² There are still alluvial workings of diamond (i) in the valley of the Mahanadi in Bihar and Orissa with a westward extension into the Central Provinces and an outlying area to the north in the valley of the Koel, a tributary of the Son; (ii) in Central India, conglomerates extending for a distance of about 60 miles with the state of Panna in the centre; (iii) in the southern districts of Anantapur, Bellary, Cuddapah, Karnool, Kistna and Godavari.

stones were a speciality also of Ceylon (61). In the north "the rivers which produce precious stones are the Akesines (Chenab) and the Ganges" (Pliny, XXXVII. 13). There were centres farther north since the kings there brought these lucrative tributes to Arjuna along with horses (Mbh. II. 28. 18 f.). According to the Arthaśāstra the mountains of Malaya (the Western Ghats, south of the Caveri), the Vindhya and the Strīrājya¹ are sources of *vaidūrya* (beryl) and other gems (II. 11). The southern Vindhya or the Satpura and the northern part of the Western Ghats² must have been the Vaidurya chain or the Orondian mountain of Ptolemy, stated in the Mahābhārata to have been crossed by the Pāṇḍavas in their pilgrimage from Vidarbha to the Narmadā. Turquoise and lapis lazuli were exported from Barbaricum (Peri. 39). Agate and Carnelian were transported from Ozene (Ujjein, 48) and Carnelian in great quantity from Paethana (Paithan on the Godavari, 51) and from other inland sources (49), possibly Mount Sardonix (Satpura range) which supplied sardonic stone, *i.e.*, a species of Carnelian (Ptolemy, I. 20).³

Like the mines and the mountains the sea was exploited for extraction of wealth. Pearl-fishery was a foremost industry in the south.

The straits between the Pāṇḍya kingdom and Ceylon were its chief centres and these two states made a lucrative profit from this trade. "The water of the Tāmraparṇī which is famed all the earth over for the pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles on their hips, behold, even to this day that water affords a

¹ The Himalayan country of Garhwal and Kumaon.

² Raychaudhuri : *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 131.

³ The same difficulty with regard to identification of Indian and foreign names occurs here as in the case of aromatics. See *supra*, p. 215.

livelihood to the Pāṇḍya chief" (Nagpur Stone In. of the Mālava rulers, 1104-5 A.D.).¹ "The southern ocean full of rolling waves, the shores of which were shining with the multitude of rays of numerous pearls dropped from shells struck and broken by the trunks of excited elephants resembling whales....." (Kendur Pl. of Kīrtivarman II, Saka Sam. 672).² All the varieties of pearl mentioned in the Arthaśāstra are specialities of Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries and of Ceylon (II. 11; VII. 12). In the Periplus, Ceylon on the one shore (61) and Colchi (Kolkai) of the Pāṇḍya kingdom and Argara (Uraiyūr) of the Chola figure as centres of pearl-fishing.³ Ptolemy mentions pearl-fishery in the Kolkhic Gulf (1. 10), i.e., in the Gulf of Manar in south Tinnevely. Pliny quotes Megasthenes to the effect that Taprobane produced pearls of greater size than India (VI. 22).

In the north.

The north also gave pearls though of inferior quality and smaller size. The northern centre was the Bengal coast from where the *mleccha* tribes paid to Bhīma tributes of gems, pearls (*maṇimauktika*) and valuable corals (*vidrumaṇca mahādhanam*, Mbh. II. 30. 27). That pearls were fished near about the port of Tāmrālipti and gathered there for export is also affirmed in the Periplus (63). Pliny ascribes the trade also to Perimula (VI. 54) placed in the western coast somewhere near Bombay or in Simylla.

Apart from pearls, sea-fishing was the main occupation of the Ceylonese. "All their energy is devoted to catching fish and the monsters of the deep; for the sea encircling the island is reported to

¹ E. I. II. 13.

² E. I. IX. 28.

³ In the south pearl-fishing seems to have been a state monopoly. The Periplus says that Colchi was worked by condemned criminals and regarding Argara, "at this place and nowhere else are brought the pearls gathered on the coast thereabouts." The Nagpur Inscription is also a pointer. See *supra*, fn. 1.

breed an incredible number of fish....." (Aelian, 16. 2. 22). Ceylon and the Tamil countries made use of tortoise-shell (Peri. 61, 56) as well as other shells (śamkha, Arth. VII. 2) which they supplied to the north and abroad to the West.¹

In textile industry, the north was leading against the south (Arth. VII. 12). The choicest stuff were of Benares and Bengal. The fine muslin of Kāsi (kāśikasucivattha, kāsikāni vatthāni) is a common reference (Jāt IV. 352, V. 377, VI. 47, 144; Mil. 1). A familiar simile is the Benares muslin of delicate finish on both sides, blue (or yellow, or red or white) in colour, blue (or yellow, etc.) in appearance, and reflecting blue (or yellow, etc.) (vattham Bārāṇaseyya-kam ubhatobhāgavimaṭṭham nīlam nīlavannaṃ nīlanidassanaṃ nīlanibhāsam, Dn. XIV. iii. 29; XXIII. iii. 1; Mn. 77, An. V. 61 f.). It is pleasant to handle (sukhasamphassaṃ), of great worth (mahaggham), of good colour (vaṇṇavantam) and a treasure to be laid up in a scented casket (An. I. 248). Kāsi is in the list of places which produce the best quality of cotton fabrics (Arth. II. 11, Sn. V. 45). According to the commentator of the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta, the texture was so fine that it absorbed no oil and hence was used to cover the body of the deceased Buddha. There were extensive cotton fields in the neighbourhood from which the yarn was spun (Jāt. III. 286). The silk-fabric of Benares still carries this reputation.

The Bengal spinners and weavers produced muslins of the finest sort called Gangetic which were brought down to Tāmralipti for export (Peri. 63), the traditions of which were maintained by the famous muslins of Dacca, Santipur and Farashdanga down

¹ Northern traders voyaging from Barygaza brought tortoise shell also from Socotra.

to the advent of British traders. In the Arthaśāstra list, Vanga (Eastern Bengal) was the source of cotton fabrics and blankets. Puṇḍra (Northern Bengal) and Suvarṇa-kuḍya¹ supplied blankets and fibrous garments (patronāḥ); the latter were obtained also in Magadha (II. 11). Among the presents received by Bhīma from the *mlecchas* on the coast of Bengal were fine cloths and blankets (cāruvastrāṇi, kambalam, Mbh. II. 30. 27). Sericulture was known somewhere near about, for the eastern party sent from Kiśkindhyā came across the land of worms yielding silk thread (bhūmiṇca koṣakārāṇām, Rām. IV. 40. 23).²

The north was another source, chiefly of woollen clothes.³

The north : Wool As a source of blankets, the Arthaśāstra mentions Nepal (II. 11; Manu, III. 234 f.) and the Himalayan regions in general (VII. 12). The king of Kamboja sent to Yudhiṣṭhira as tribute blankets of finest texture along with deer skins (Mbh. II. 49. 19) including those of sheep's wool, fur of mice and other animals living in holes and of the hair of cats all inlaid with threads of gold :—

aurṇāṇ vailāṇ vārṣadamśāṇ jātarūpapariṣkṛtāṇ
prāvārajīnamukhyāṁśca kāmbojaḥ pradadan bahūn.

51. 3.

The Bālīhikas presented numerous blankets of woollen texture manufactured in Cina,⁴ numerous skins of Ranku deer and clothes prepared from jute and others from the threads of insects :

pramāṇa-rāga-sparsādyāṇ bālīhīcināsamudbbhavaṁ
aurṇaṇca rāṇkavaṇcaiva paṭajam kiṭajantathā.

51. 26.

¹ ?

² Is it Assam? Attempts have been made to identify this with China.

³ The Punjab, Kashmir and Tibeto Himalayan ranges still carry the tradition.

⁴ This is not China proper but Tibeto-Mongoloid races, or people vaguely acknowledging Chinese suzerainty in the north-west.

In north Harivarṣa Arjuna obtained finest clothes and silks (28. 16). The cloth produced in the Sivi country,¹ of which the choicest suit of king Pajjota of Avanti was made (Mv. VIII. 29), was a known luxury favoured in the palace.²

The Arthaśāstra list is completed with Madhurā (of the south),³ Aparānta (Konkana),³ Kalinga, Other sources. Vatsa (city of Kauśāmbī)³ and Mahīśa (Māhiśmatī)³ for the best stuff of cotton fabrics. Of these Aparānta and Māhiśmatī are corroborated in the Periplus which deals with the same countries while speaking of Barygaza, Ozene and Abiria. From Barygaza were shipped westward, mallow cloth, yarn, silk cloth and cotton cloth, the broad type called *monache*⁴ and that called *sagmatogene*⁵ (6, 14, 31, 32, 49). Ujjainī was one of the centres of production of these textiles transported to Barygaza (48). In Abiria, a very fertile country, cotton was extensively cultivated and cloth made therefrom of coarser sort (41). But a sheep-rearing, pastoral people as they were (41), the Ābhīras produced blankets of better stuff of which they brought various kinds as present to king Yudhiṣṭhira. Cotton cloth and silk yarn were exported also from Barbaricum (39), probably the produce brought down from the north.

¹ From the testimony of Fa-hien and Hsuen Tsang who makes the (Su-ho-to) the scene of the classic story of king Uśinara giving his flesh to save his fugitive pigeon, it would appear to be in Gandhāra or Swat valley (Beal's Records, p. 206). But from the Sibipura in Shorkot Inscription Vogel places it in Shorkot in Jhang district below the junction of the Jhalum and the Chenab. It may be the Siboe of Strabo (Iboe-Diod, Sobii-Curtius) and Sivapura of Pāṇini said to belong to the northern country. Cunningham places it in Lower Beas in Jullundhar district. A branch of the Sibia migrated to Mewar where they had their capital Jetuttara (Vessantara Jāt.; Jattaraur, Alberuni : India, I, p. 302).

² *Siveyyakam dussayagam*. Buddhaghōsa gives two explanations of which the latter, more plausible, is "a cloth woven from yarn which skilful women of the Sivi country spin."

³ Commentary.

⁴ Minākṣī ?

⁵ ?

Madhurā of the Arthaśāstra is also confirmed. The silk cloth of the Tamil ports of Nyleynda, Tyndis and Muziris were inland produce (56). Muslin, mallow cloth and much ordinary cloth were carried from Tagara to Barygaza (51). The Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas brought to the Pāṇḍavas fine cloth inlaid with gold (Mbh. II. 52. 33 ff.).

* * *

The countries and their specialised commodities so far as they may be ascertained from the above may be arranged thus in tabular order :—

COMMODITY	COUNTRY	
	(Ancient names)	(Modern equivalents)
ANIMALS		
1. Horse	<i>Sindhu, Kāmboja, Aratta, Vanāyu, Bālbhika, Sauvira, Lake Manasa, Pārvatiya.</i>	<i>Sind, Punjab, N. W. F. P. N. Gujarat, Mansarowar, S. E. of Hindukush.</i>
2. Elephant	<i>Prāgyotiya, Karūṣa, Anga, Kalinga, Daśārṇa, Surāṣṭra.</i>	<i>Bengal, Bhagalpur, Orissa, S. E. of Vindhya, Kathiawad.</i>
ANIMAL PRODUCE		
3. Ivory	<i>Daśārṇa, Dantapura, Kāśi, Ayodhya, Vidiśa, Tamil countries.</i>	<i>S. E. Vindhya, Dantan (Midnapore ?), Benares, Oudh, Bhilsa, Mysore.</i>
4. Skins	<i>Himalayan borders, N. Hari-varṣa, Nu. Kirāta, Kāmboja, Bālbhika.</i>	<i>N. W. of Himatayas, Hindukush, Punjab.</i>
FOOD CROPS		
5. Rice, Wheat, Sesame	<i>Abhira</i>	<i>Coast of S. Gujarat.</i>
HERBS, ROOTS, GUMS.		
6. Malabathrum	<i>Kirrhadia, Besatae, Tamil</i>	<i>Rangpur (?), Tibeto-Burma, Tamil countries.</i>
7. Spikenard	<i>Kaśyapapura, Paropanisada, Kabul, Gedrosia, En. Himalayas.</i>	<i>Kashmir, Hindukush, Kabul, S. Beluchistan, En. Himalayas.</i>
8. Myrrh	<i>Gedrosia</i>	<i>S. Beluchistan</i>
9. Nard	<i>Gedrosia, N. of Barbaricum</i>	<i>S. Beluchistan, Sind (?)</i>
10. Costus, Lycium, Bdellium.	<i>N. of Barbaricum and of Ozene</i>	<i>Sind and regions farther north (?)</i>
PERFUMES		
11. Scents	<i>Turushka, Andhra</i>	<i>Turkestan, Andhra</i>
12. Sandal	<i>Kāmarūpa, Bengal coast, Suvarṇabhūmi, Kāśi, Hyphasis, Nu. Kirāta, Daiva-sabhā, Aśokagrāma, Malaya & Dardara Hills.</i>	<i>Assam, Bengal, Sumatra, Benares, the Beas, N. W. of Himalayas, Ceylon, Mysore.</i>



COMMODITY

COUNTRY

PERFUMES

(Ancient names)

(Modern equivalents)

13. Aloe Bengal coast, N. Kirātas, Bengal, N. W. of Himalayas,
Dardara Hills Nilgiris.

DYE

14. Indigo N. of Barbaricum Sind (?)

WINE

15. Grape wine *Kapisā* *Afghanistan*

MINERALS

16. Gold *Dardai, Meru, Mandara, North-ern Kirātas, Upper Indus, Havilah, near Tāmralipti, Erannobos, Suvarṇabhūmi, E. of Mt. Capitalia, Malabar, Taprobane.* *Tibet, Garhwal, N. W. of Himalayas and Hindu Kush, Chotanagpur (?), the Son, Sumatra, Rajputana, Malabar, Ceylon.*
17. Silver *Setae, E. of Mt. Capitalia, Bengal, Rūpakadwīpa, Ceylon.* *Tibet, Rajputana, Chotanagpur (?), Sumatra, Ceylon.*
18. Copper (exported from) *Barygaza* *S. India, Rajputana, Himalayan range.*
19. Rock salt *Mt. Ormenus, Sindhu* *Range between Jhelum and Indus.*
20. Diamond *Vidarbha, Kōśala, Kāśi, Kalinga, Sabarai, Tamil.* *Berar, Oudh, Benares, Orissa, Sambhalpur (?), Tamil.*
21. Stones *Akesines and Ganges, N. of Himalayas, Strirāja, Vindhya, Ozene, Paethana, Malaya, Tamil, Ceylon.* *Chenab and Ganges, Garhwal and Himalayas, Vindhya and Satpura, Wn. Ghats, Ceylon.*

FISHERY

22. Pearl *Pāṇḍya, Taprobane, Bengal coast, Simyila.* *S.E. coast of Tamil, Ceylon, Bengal coast.*
23. Coral Bengal coast Bengal coast
24. Sea-fishing, Tamil, Ceylon Tamil, Ceylon
tortoise and
other shell.

TEXTILES

25. Cotton cloth *Sivi, Kāśi, Vanga, Puṇḍra, Magadha, Kalinga, Vatsa, Aparānta, Māhīśmatī, Ābhīra, Madhurā, Chola, Pāṇḍya.* *Sherkot, Benares, E. & N. Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Maharashtra, Tan il.*
26. Blankets *Vanga, Puṇḍra, Nepal, N. W. Himalayas, Kāmboja, Bāl-bika, Ābhīra.* *E. & N. Bengal, Nepal, N. W. Himalayas, Punjab, Balkh (?), Maharashtra*
27. Silk *Silk land of East, Bālbika, N. Harivarṣa, Tamil.* *Assam (?), Balkh (?), N. Himalayas, Tamil.*
28. Jute and *Puṇḍra, Magadha, Bālbika* *N. Bengal, Bihar, Balkh (?).*
fibrous cloth.

The list is no doubt incomplete, defective and lacking valid confirmation in many cases. There were innumerable thriving industries outside this small range which cannot be localised for lack of materials. The compilation, tentatively made from vague and scrappy literary notices may not be correct in every detail. But the facts of localisation and specialisation stand out ; and for certain industries at least, *e.g.*, the muslin of Bengal, the pearls of Pāṇḍya and Ceylon, the sandal of Mysore and Assam, the gold of Tibet, Garhwal, Malabar and Ceylon and the fleet-footed horse of Sind and the Punjab, evidences are almost unimpeachable. The catalogues of the Arthaśāstra and the Sabhāparva alone, from which many items have been omitted in this chapter, give the modern economist ample food for thought over the magnitude of lost arts and industries exhausted mines and forests, exterminated flora and fauna and defertilised agricultural land.

CHAPTER V

ORGANISATION OF INDUSTRIES

• Guild organisation. *Śreṇī* and *pūga*. Origin of combination. Stages : Vedic, Pali and Epic.

Organisational structure. (a) Localisation of industries. Theory ; practice—in town, in village. (b) Leadership : the *pamukha*, the *jeṭṭhaka*. (c) Heredity of occupation. Exceptions, the *antevāsi*—rules. (d) Guild laws : evolution ; regulation of investments and dividends, of contracts ; sanction against delinquency ; judicial power.

Finances. The balance sheet. Public works.

Relation with civil power. Paternal care. Arbitration of disputes : the *bhaṇḍā-gārika*. *Guardianship? The guild militia, a thorn.

The organised crafts.

Functions and powers. Flag. Coins. Seal. Control of Municipal power. Receiver of deposits and executor of endowments. Mobility. Cultural life. Independent development. Disintegration.

Tools and mechanical power are not the sole means for the production of wealth. It requires organisation, combination and laws regulating business. The progress of Indian arts and crafts depended in no small degree on the organisational genius of the people. The industrial combines in ancient India have generally been termed 'guilds' as they bear a close resemblance to those prototypes of mediaeval Europe.

Sanskrit works use many words with references to local bodies, the distinction between which is not precisely defined. Generally, however, the terms *śreṇī* and *pūga* go for industrial and commercial guilds.¹ Kaiyaṭa and Tattvabodhinī explain *śreṇī* in Pāṇini (II. i. 59) as an assembly of persons following a common craft or trading in a common commodity (*ekena śilpena paṇyena vā ye jīvanti teṣāṃ samūhaḥ śreṇī*). The com-

¹ And sometimes *gāma*, *nigama*, *gāṇa*, *saṃgha*, *saṃūha*, *saṃiti*, etc.

mentators on Manu (VIII. 41) and Nārada (I. 7) explain it nearly in the same sense, but in the Arthaśāstra, *śreṇī* is either a guild of workmen (II. 4) or a military clan (VII. 16) or communities like those of Kāmbojas, Surāṣṭras and Kṣatriyas who subsist by agriculture, trade and military service. So the *pūga* is a craft or trade

Pūga.

guild according to the commentators of Nārada (X. 2) and Yājñavalkya (II. 31). But both Vīramitrodaya and Mitākṣarā distinguish it from the *śruṭī* as an association of persons of different castes and occupations while *śreṇī* is a more limited assembly of people of same craft or occupation though possibly of different castes.

As Vṛhaspati points out, anarchy and insecurity in business were the earliest impulse to combination (XVII. 5 f.). The danger came not

Urge to union.

only from the conditions of the market but also from the severity of the civil law in regard to certain crafts.¹ In fact guild life is the characteristic of an advanced stage of economic progress when "the individual mechanics, artisans or traders have sufficient business instincts developed in them, and have achieved sufficient success in their several businesses to appreciate the necessity of organising themselves into a community for the purpose of promoting their individual and collective interests."² The idea of organising on co-operative basis was inherent in the division of castes and allocation of functions. The Vaiśyas were called *gaṇasya* in distinction from the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas as co-operation was necessary for acquiring wealth (Br. Up. 1. 4. 12 and Śankara's Com.). Within the Vaiśya or commoner caste the emergence of traders as a distinct body

¹ E.g., the laws of the Arthaśāstra on gold and silver smiths. Cf. Manu—"But the king shall cause a goldsmith who behaves dishonestly, the most noxious of all thorns, to be cut to pieces with razors." IX 292. In Viṣṇu guilds of metal-workers and of smiths of gold and silver are pre-eminent.

² R. K. Mukherji : *Local Self-government in Ancient India*.

from agriculture and cattle-rearing signifies a further stage in this progress.

The plea of Geldner and of Roth for the existence of guilds in Vedic literature has been keenly disputed. But the words *śreṣṭhin* and *śraiṣṭhya* used in Vedic texts¹ would appear from their contexts to mean 'headman of a guild' and 'his position of primacy.' For more positive evidence of institutional growth we have to look to a much later age. "As the Buddhists placed the warrior-caste before the priest-caste and gave unrestricted freedom to the third estate, it is not wonderful that guild-life is characteristic of a Buddhistic environment."² Early Pali literature is full of references to guilds and heads of guilds are of the highest social position. They are great householders always represented in the social set of kings and princes. References in the Epics and in subsequent records, epigraphic and literary, are equally informative. In the *Śāntiparva* it is fully realised that the *gaṇa* when united, acquires great wealth by the strength and prowess of its constituents (*arthaścaivā'dhigamyante saṃghātabalapauruṣaiḥ*, 107. 15).

In the origin and consolidation of guilds four important factors had their part. It has already been seen that certain industries were specialised at certain places. Within the same district or town again each industry tended to be localised at a particular area of its own. The *Arthaśāstra* ordains that merchants trading with scents, garlands, grains, and liquids (*gandha-mālya-dhānya-rasapanyāḥ*) are to settle in the eastern quarter of a town. Traders in cooked rice, liquor and flesh (*pakkānnasurāmāmsapanyāḥ*) and prostitutes

Localisation of industries : in theory.

¹ For references see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*.

² Washburn Hopkins : *India Old and New*, p. 171.

(rūpajīvāḥ) to the south. Artisans manufacturing worsted threads, cotton threads, bamboo-mats, skins, armours, weapons and gloves and the Śūdras to the west (ūrṇāsūtra-veṇucarmavarmaśāstrāvarāṇa-kāravah). Smiths and workers in precious stones (lohamanikāravah) find place with the tutelary deity and Brāhmaṇas in the north (II. 4). The Agnipurāṇa makes a totally different allocation except for the prostitutes and for the religious people. The goldsmiths are to be in the south-west corner of the town; the professional dancers and musicians and the harlots in the south; the stage-managers, the carriagemen and fishermen in the south-west. Those who deal in cars and chariots, weapons and cutlery in the west; liquor merchants, officers and employees in the north-west; religious people in the north; fruit-vendors in the north-east. This is in the outermost circle. In the inner blocks are the military, the civilians and the *élite* of the town. The Mayamata gives a more complicated plan. To the south—a little to the sides should be the weavers, to the north wheelwrights or carters (cakriṇām). The outermost sites are divided into several blocks reserved for (a) fish, meat, dry food and vegetables, (b) staple food, (c) basins and pottery, (d) brass and bronze, (e) cloth shops, (f) rice and paddy, (g) tailoring; salt and oils, (h) perfumeries and flowers, all serially arranged intervening residential sites. Along the roads within the boulevard are assigned stalls of jewels and precious stones, gold, clothes, drugs and condiments like *mañjiṣṭhā*, pepper, pipal, ginger, honey, ghee, oil, medicines, etc. In ports or in trade marts stalls are not to be inter-residential but more compact, set up in continuous rows on either sides of the highway, to secure economic efficiency (Ch. 10, ll. 154-83). In a different order of planning artisans and manual workers are placed in the outermost zone of the city; to the east or north—potters, barbers and other craftsmen; to the north-west—fishermen; to the west—butchers; to the north—

oilmen ; to the south-east or north-west—architects ; further off—washermen ; one *krośa* (2 miles) off from the east—sweepers (Chs. 9, 29).

Plans differed in theory and in practice. But there is no doubt that industries and occupations tended to be segregated from one another partly under the same circumstances which lead to the localisation of modern industries. In the towns of the Madhyadeśa we come across the ivory-workers' street (*dantakāravīthim* in Benares, Jāt. I. 320 f. ; II. 197), the lotus street (*uppalavīthim* in Sāvatti, II. 321), the washermen's street (*rajakavīthim*, IV. 82), the street of the Vessas (*vessānām vīthiyā*, VI. 485), the weavers' quarter (*tantavita-taṭṭhānam*, I. 356 ; *pesakāravīthi*, Dhpa. I. 424) and a street in the caterers' quarters (*odonikagharavīthiyam*, III. 49). As in the town people with the same industrial pursuit flocked in a specified street or quarter, in the countryside, they congregated in the same village settlement and formed a more developed organisation. A carpenter's village with 500 or 1,000 families is often seen in the frontier of the state of Kāśi or in the outskirts of the city of Benares (*kāśiraṭṭhe...paccantagāme bahū vaḍḍhakīvasanti*, I. 247 ; *kulasabassanivāso mahāvaddhakigāmo*, IV. 159 ; II. 18, 405 ; IV. 207). There was a weavers' village near Benares under a headman (Dhammapāla's Com. on Therig, Pss. 157 ff.) and a smith's village of 1,000 houses (*sahassakuṭiko kammāragāmo*, III. 281) is also referred to. Brāhmaṇas formed similar villages for their scholastic and religious activities (VI. 514 ; Mn. 41, 150).¹ The craftsmen purveyed their goods to the people of neighbouring towns and villages or executed orders from them jointly or severally (Vr. XVII. 11).

¹ For villages of fishermen, hunters, thieves, *caṇḍālas*, *ceṇas*, *naḷakāras*, etc., see *infra*, Bk. V. Ch. III, Bk. VI, Ch. III.

After localisation the next factor was leadership. The localised industry, the *gāma* or the *seni* was frequently organised under a leader called *jetṭhaka*. We hear of *jetṭhakas* of carpenters, smiths, weavers, garlandmakers (III. 405) as well as of other inferior crafts and of mariners, thieves, caravan-guards, etc. Fick surmises that his office was hereditary and honorary, based on skill rather than on age. He is prominent in royal court (III. 281, V. 282) and rich and of great substance (III. 281). He seems to have combined the functions of the village headman, the village syndic and the president of the local guild.

The third factor was heredity of occupation. From the frequent use of the suffixes *kuṭu* and *putta* after a craft name, it would appear that a family stuck to the same craft the father handing down to his son his capital, credit and accumulated experience. Later, during the period of the later law-books (Manu, etc.), with the development of trade transactions "the significance and inner compactness deepened, and being similar to the castes on account of the traditional organisation and the hereditariness of membership, they gradually got....., as certain rules and customs with reference to marriage and interdining were developed, the appearance of real caste, till they finally became the modern trading classes."¹

But occupation was not always rigidly determined by heredity or caste. This is proved by the copious literary references particularly in the Pali canon to the master and the pupil, the *ācariya* and the *antevāsi* in an establishment where the latter undergoes a course of apprenticeship under the former in an art which he chooses to pursue in future.

¹ Fick : *Die Sociale Gliederung*, p. 179.

His rôle is not always that of a learner,—for sometimes he excels his master in skill (Jāt. V. 290 ff.). It is very often that of an assistant or a servant akin to the worst conditions of wage labour.¹

From Nārada's rule it seems that the period of apprenticeship was very similar to the condition of bondage. A youngman desirous of learning a trade was free to do so. He lived with a master, worked for him and was fed and taught by him (also Vṛ. XVI. 6). Like a slave by his master he should be treated as a son.² He might not be made to do any other work than the one he was learning. The master might compel the apprentice's return if he ran away. In case the apprentice learns the craft more quickly than stipulated in the contract, the time left over shall be his master's and all the profit derived from the apprentice during that period shall accrue to his master (also Yāj. II. 187). It follows that he was bound down for a given length of time and that the advantage from his work was wholly his master's. If agreed upon in advance he might be rewarded with a fee on attaining proficiency, but he should continue to work for his master till the stated time was up (V. 18-21).

The last and the strongest factor binding the constituencies as a close homogeneous unit was the operation of the guild laws. The evolution of these laws may be traced back roughly to the first six centuries before the Christian era in the form of conventions taking shape. The tendency is indicated in two rules of Gautama. "Laws of districts,

¹ In fact Nārada treats them in the same chapter along with hired servants and slaves.

² Cf. Mv. I. 32. 1, where Buddha says that the *ācariya* ought to consider the *antevāsika* as a son, the *antevāsika* should consider the *ācariya* as a father. He exhorts the *bhikkhus* to live the first ten years in dependence on the *ācariya*. Of course the rule relates to education in sacred lore and not in a craft.

castes and families, when not opposed to sacred texts, are an authority " ; and " ploughmen, merchants, herdsmen, money-lenders and artisans (are also authority) for their respective classes " (XI. 20 f. ; Vāś. I. 17, XIX. 7). While Gautama is an advocate of local usage and law of caste, Manu reckons guild laws as on par with those of castes and localities. A king should settle the laws only after a careful examination of the laws of castes, districts, guilds (śrenī) and families (VIII. 41 ; Yāj. I. 350 f. ; Nārada, X. 2). Vṛhaspati goes farther to enjoin that the king must approve of whatever the guilds do to other people in accordance with their rules whether that is cruel or kind (XVII. 18).

These rules were meant to regulate distribution of profits and liabilities, investments and dividends among the members. According to the Arthaśāstra, guilds of workmen (saṃgha-bhṛtaḥ) and those who carry on co-operative work (sambhūya samutthātāraḥ) shall divide their earnings (vetanam) either equally or as agreed upon among themselves (III. 14). The rules of Nārada and Vṛhaspati on *sambhūya samutthānam* or joint transaction of business are more elaborate and relate to trade guilds as well as to craft guilds. The partners must share all legitimate expenses of business such as those incurred by (a) purchase and sale of merchandise, (b) provision for necessary travelling, (c) wages of labourers, (d) realisation of dues, (e) freight, (f) care of treasures (Nār. III. 4 and Vivādaratnākara's com.). The loss, expenses and profit of the business are to be shared by each partner according to the share contributed by him to the joint stock. A partner is responsible for any loss due to his want of care or any action without the assent or against the instructions of his co-partners (Nār. III. 5 ; Vṛ. XIV. 9). Similarly he is entitled to a special remuneration for special profit gained through his individual action (Nār. III.

Apportionment of
shares and liabilities.

6; Vr. XIV. 10). The master craftsman is entitled to a double share of the profits. So also the head of an engineering firm building a house or a temple or digging a tank (Vr. XIV. 29).

The guilds took contract for work. The Arthaśāstra lays down its rules or terms between the transacting parties (III. 14). Rules of contract bear also on the internal affairs of a guild. Vṛhaspati says that a contract executed by one is binding on all (XIV. 5). The rule of the Arthaśāstra is that a healthy person who deserts his company (of contract artisans) after work has been begun shall be fined 15 *paṇas*; for none shall of his own accord leave his company. One found to have stealthily neglected his share of work shall be shown mercy for the first time and given proportional work anew with promise of proportional share in earnings. For neglecting

Sanction. again and going elsewhere he shall be thrown out of the company (*pravāsanam*).

For a glaring offence (*mahāparādha*) he shall be treated as condemned (*duṣyavad-ācāret*, III. 14). The Dharmaśāstras do not show the same leniency. According to Nārada and Vṛhaspati he who disobeys the laws or injures the joint stock is to be banished. A member who fails to implement an agreement entered into by his association is to be banished and his property confiscated. According to Yājñavalkya dishonesty is punished by expulsion from the guild and forfeiture of share in the profits. A disabled partner may, however, appoint a substitute to do his part of the work (II. 265).

The threat of expulsion for indiscipline and dishonesty was the sanction of the guild laws. Judicial authority.

Accordingly the association had complete judicial authority over its members. Vṛhaspati says that the partners are to be judges and witnesses in deciding their own disputes (XIV. 6). These disputes do not

necessarily relate to affairs of business, they might be strictly personal. Later law books emphasise the jurisdiction of local, popular courts like the *kula*, *śrenī*, *gaṇa* and *pūga*—graded in ascending order of superiority (Nār. Intr. 7 ; Vr. I. 28-30 ; Yāj. II. 30). This juridical power is recognised in the Buddhist literature. A man may be tried by his guild (*pūgamajjhagato*, Mn. 41, 114). Its interference is invoked to settle differences between the members and their wives (Vin. IV. 226). In the Suttavibhanga it is forbidden to ordain the wife of a member unless his guild had sanctioned it. This rigid control over the affairs of a well-knit corporation was exercised by an executive body of two to five persons presumably with a presiding head which also supervised the affairs of smaller associations (Vr. XVII. 10).

The finances of the guild consisted of individual earnings and contributions, fines and confiscations on delinquent members, king's subsidy (Vr. XVII. 24) and profits from executions of orders (Yāj. II. 190). Good profits accrued from the investment of the deposits which the guilds received from the king and the public as banks.¹ They might in their turn earmark a part of their capital to be set aside as safe deposit. The Arthaśāstra prescribes on this point that those who can be expected to relieve misery, who can give instructions to artisans, who can be trusted with deposits, who can plan artistic work after their own design, and who can be relied upon by guilds of artisans may receive the deposits of guilds. The guilds shall receive their deposits back in time of distress.

Arthyapratikārāḥ kārūśāsītārāḥ sannikṣeptārāḥ svacittakāravaḥ śrenīpramāṇā nikṣepaṃ grhṇīyuh. Vipattau śrenī nikṣepaṃ bhajet. IV. I.

¹ For the banking activity of the *śrenī* see *infra*, Bk. IV, Ch. II.

♥ The incomes were distributed as (a) dividend among members, (b) charity, (c) fresh investment.

deyam nihsva-vṛddhāndha-strī-bal'-ātura-rogiṣu
santānikādiṣu tathā eṣa dharmah sanātanaḥ
tato labhyeta yatkiñcit sarveṣāmeva tatsamam
ṣānmāsikaṁ māsikaṁ vā vibhaktavyaṁ yathāṁśataḥ

Vṛ. XVII. 23 f.

The Smṛti rules find positive illustrations from life. Four Benares weavers plied their trade jointly and used to divide their earnings in five shares, keeping four for their own and disposing of the fifth for charity.

Bārānasiyam pesakārā ekato hutvā tena kammena
laddhakam pañca koṭṭhāse katvā cattaro koṭṭhāse pari-
bhuñjimsu pañcamam gahetvā ekato va dānam dadimsu.

Jāt. IV. 475.

Benevolent public works and religious contributions received equal attention. Among the votive offerings at Sanchi one is attributed to the guild of ivory-carvers. A cave inscription in Junnar records the gift of a seven-celled cave and of a cistern by the *śreṇī* of corn-dealers.¹ A Gwalior Inscription (876 A.D.) records a temple-grant by a town where guilds of oil-millers (*tailikaśreṇī*) and of gardeners (*mālikaśreṇī*) levy a toll among themselves and assign it to the temple.²

The guilds while enjoying an autonomous life stood in close relation to the civil authority. The legal masters enjoin a paternal and fostering care to be extended to industrial combinations. Not only must the king respect the guild laws but must also see that members thereof followed their own laws (Yāj. I. 361; Viṣ. III. 2; Nār. X. 2). To enforce observance of these laws and compacts among members

Guild *vis-a-vis* the
state : guardianship.

¹ Bühler and Burgess : *Arch. Sur. W. Ind.*, IV. 10

² E. I., I. 29.

the king may resort to the penal sanctions of fine and banishment (Manu, VIII. 219-21; Viṣ. V. 108; Yāj. II. 192). In the case of a dispute between a guild and its head, the king shall arbitrate and he shall restrain when a whole guild boycotts a member from hatred (Vr. XVII. 19-20). He subsidises a guild when necessary. He receives appeal against its disposal of a law-suit. He has the prerogative of taxing it to his pleasure.

The Jātakas offer several instances of guild-disputes (II. 12, 52; IV. 43; VI. 332). The source of these quarrels is nowhere disclosed. That there might be more than one guild of the same craft at one place, *e.g.*, the two weavers' guilds at Govardhana (Nasik Cave Ins.) may lead to a vague surmise. To remedy this state of affairs, a king is said to have inaugurated the office of the *bhaṇḍāgārīka* who carried with it "the judgeship over all guilds" (*sabbasenīnāṃ vicaraṇatthāya*, IV. 43) and "whose function possibly referred to a supervision of the goods made or dealt with by a guild or guilds and not only to the king's exchequer."¹

The king's rôle of guardianship is reflected in many other references. He collects all the guilds (*sabbasenīyo*) along with his subjects to demonstrate his almsgiving (Jāt. IV. 49). He assembles the four castes, the eighteen guilds (*aṭṭhāraso senīyo*) and his army for a procession to receive his son (VI. 22). Among ministers, officials and notables are the chiefs of the guilds (*śreṇimukhyāḥ*) who are ordained by Bharata to come out and greet Rāma on his return from exile (Rām. VI. 129. 4). The king was in intimate touch with the *jeṭṭhaka* and probably this was the agency through which he exercised his powers of oversight.

¹ Mrs. Rhys Davids : *Cambridge History*, p. 207.

But the guild was not always the submissive ward. As a necessary corollary to its political power and autonomous life and from the need to defend its treasures the *śreṇī* came to form a militia and possess military power enough to be a perpetual worry to the king. Prince Duryodhana when defeated in the hands of the Gandharvas was ashamed of returning home and meeting his relatives, priests and heads of guilds (*gaṇamukhyāḥ*, Mbh. III. 248. 16). The Arthaśāstra is at its wit's end to keep them under subjugation and to destroy them by sowing seeds of discord. In the Śānti-parva their power is reckoned as equal to that of the army; their heads must be 'talked over' by spies when the king would subdue another kingdom; they are 'supported by union' and the king is especially warned not to tax them too heavily, lest they become disaffected, which is considered as a grave calamity (107. 10-32).

In the land where and in the time when the Jātaka stories took shape there were eighteen industries which were organised into guilds (*aṭṭhāraso seṇiyo*, I. 267, 314; III. 281; IV. 411; VI. 22). Four of these are especially mentioned, *viz.*, carpenters (*vaḍḍhaki*), smiths (*kammāra*), leather-dressers (*cammakāra*) and painters (*cittakāra*) (VI. 427). Among craft guilds Vṛhaspati enumerates those of goldsmiths, silversmiths, workers in other base metals (*kupya*), carpenters, stone-dressers (*saṃskartā*) and leather-workers (XIV. 27). The Nasik Cave Inscriptions refer to the guilds of weavers, of potters (? *kularika*), of workers with water-pumps (*odayantriaka*) and of oil-millers (*tilapiṣaka*) (12. v, 15. vii). A Mathura Brāhmī Inscription of Huvīṣka's time records the existence of a *rāka* (?) guild and a guild of flour-makers (*saṃitakara*).¹ The Junnar Buddhist Cave Inscriptions

¹ E. I., XXI. 10.

similarly speak of one of bamboo-workers (*vasakāra*) another of braziers (*kasakāra*) and a third of corn-dealers (*dhamñika*).¹ The collective gift of the ivory-workers at *Vedisā* (*Sanchi Ins. C. 189*) probably indicates that these artisans formed a *śrenī*. Later inscriptions and inscriptions from the south add copiously to the list.

The autonomy and entity of the guild was as much legal as real. It had its distinguishing colours (*Mbh. III. 2.6.6*). In the preparations made by the royal family and citizens of Mathura to witness the wrestling bout between *Kṛṣṇa* and *Kaṃsa*, pavilions were erected for different companies and corporations with flags representing the implements and emblems of the several crafts (*svakarṇa-dravyayuktābhiḥ patākābhiḥ. Harivamśa, 86. 5*). If the *nigama* of the coins of Taxila and of the Bhita seals refers to town corporations and not to industrial guilds, the *Basarh* seals of the time of the Gupta emperors show a great advancement in guild activity referring to and giving the names of bankers (*śreṣṭhin*), traders (*sārthavāha*) and merchants (*kulika*), their members and their leaders (*prathama-kulika*). The civic affairs of the *nigama* were dominated by powerful trade and craft guilds.²

The guild served not only as a bank receiving deposits at interest but also as a trustee and executor of endowments. An endowment in a guild bank is reported to be permanent so long as the guild retains its unity even if it moves to a different place.³ This shows its mobility and organisational perfection and the public confidence reposed in it. The 1,000 families of carpenters in a *gāma* who shifted wholesale overnight in boats and settled in an island in mid-sea is a typical illustration of this mobility (*Jāt.*

¹ Bühler and Burges : *Op. cit.*, IV. 10, Pt. 27.

² See *supra*, p. 188.

³ Fleet : *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 16.

IV. 159). Another example is a guild of skilled (prathita-śilpāḥ) silk-weavers who migrated from Lāṭa or southern Gujarat into the city of Dāsapura and constructed “a noble and unequalled temple of the bright-rayed sun.” After this the members began pursuing different occupations, e.g., music, story-telling (kathāvidāḥ), religious discourses (dharmaprasaṅga); some remained weavers, others changed into astrologers (jyotiṣa) or warriors (samarapragalbhāḥ) or recluse (vijita-viśayaśaṅga). Still the corporate organisation was intact and the temple which had fallen into disrepair was restored by the same guild after a period of thirty-six years from its construction.¹ The larger civic conscience and communal spirit thus stood against the disruptive tendencies of contradictory tastes and occupations. This also shows the extent of intellectual life and culture nursed in a mere craft guild and the amount of independent development and freedom of choice permitted within its scope. But this is not the *śreṇī* of the Jātakas and of the Smṛtis. We miss the team plying their shuttle together, the rules regulating collective contracts for a job, the allocation of shares and dues from a joint-stock. The institution imbibes cultural propensities and develops conflicting tastes in a growing urban atmosphere. It has lost its fundamental character of manual labour and the basic unity grown upon it. The earlier *śreṇī* was an association of capitalist workers serving under the strictest regimentation who could ill afford to pursue the so-called cultures and refinements as means of livelihood. The story of the Mandasor Inscription sets forth the first stage of disintegration of a well-knit craft guild with common economic interests. The process is hidden under the plaster of a higher but loose synthesis maintained only by tradition and personal association.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

BOOK III
TRADE AND COMMERCE

Aññataro duggatakulaputto.....mūsikam gahetvā ekas-
 mīm āpaṇe bilālass' atthāya datvā kākaṇikam labhi.
 Tāya kākaṇikāya phāṇitam gahetvā ekena kuṭṭhena pāṇiyam
 gaṇhi. So araññato āgacchante mālākāre disvā thokam
 thokam phāṇitakhaṇḍam datvā ulumpkena pāṇiyam adāsi.
 Te tassa ekekaṃ pupphamuṭṭhim adamsu. So tena
 pupphamūlena punadivase pi phāṇitañ ca pāṇiyaphaṭaṇ ca
 gahetvā pupphārāmaṃ eva gaṭo. Tassa taṃ divasaṃ mālā-
 karā adbhocitake pupphagacche datvā agamaṃsu. So na
 cirass' eva iminā upāyena atṭha kaḥāpaṇe labhi. Puna
 ekasmīm vātavutṭhidivase rājuyyāne bahū sukkhadandaḥkā
 ca sākha ca palāsaṇ ca vātena patitaṃ hoti. Uyyānapālo
 chaddetaṃ upāyaṃ na passati. So tattha gantvā sace
 imāni dārupaṇṇāni mayhaṃ dassasi ahaṃ te imāni sabbāni
 nīharissāmi ti uyyānapālaṃ āha. So gaṇha ayyā ti sam-
 paticchi. Cullantevāsiko dāraḥkāṇaṃ keḷimaṇḍalaṃ gantvā
 phāṇitam datvā muhuttaṇa sabbāni dārupaṇṇāni nīharāpetvā
 uyyānadvāre rāsiṃ kāresi. Tadā rājakumbhākāro rāja-
 kulānaṃ bhājanānaṃ pacanattāya dārūni gaṇhi. Taṃ
 divasaṃ Cullantevāsiko dāruvikkayaṇa soḷasa kaḥāpaṇe
 cāṭiādini ca pañca bhājanāni labhi. So catuvisatiyā kaḥā-
 paṇesu jātesu "atthi ayam upāyo mayhaṃ" ti nagara-
 dvārato avidūratṭhāne ekaṃ pāṇiyacāṭiṃ tṭhapetvā pañcasate
 tiṇahāraḥke pāṇiyena upatṭhahi. Te āhaṃsu : "tvam
 samma ambhakaṃ bahūpakāro, kiṇ te karaṃā" ti. So
 "mayhaṃ kicce uppanne karissattha" ti vatvā ito e' ito ca
 vicaranta thalapathakammikena ca jalapathakammikena ca
 saddhiṃ mittasanthavaṃ akāsi. Tassa thalapathakammiko
 "sve imaṃ nagaraṃ assavaṇṇijako pañca assasatāni gahetvā
 āgamiṃsatī" ti "ācikkhi. So tassa vacanaṃ sutvā tiṇahāraḥke
 āha : "ajja mayhaṃ ekekaṃ tiṇakalāpaṃ detha, mayā ca
 tiṇe avikkīte attano tiṇaṃ mā vikkīṇathā" ti. Te

“sādhū” ’ti sampaticchitvā pañca tiṇakalāpasatāni āharitvā tassa ghare pātayimsu. Assavāṇiḥṣo sakalanagare assānam tiṇam alabhitvā tassa sahaṣṣam datvā tam tiṇam gaṇhi. Tato kṭipāhaccayena tassa jalapathakammikasaḥāyako ārocesi : “paṭṭanam mahānāva āgatā” ’ti. So “atthi ayam upāyo” ti aṭṭhahi kaḥāpaṇehi sabbaparivārasampannam tāvakālikam ratham gaḥetvā mahantena yasena nāvā-paṭṭanam gantvā ekam angulimuddikam nāvāya saccakāram datvā avidūratṭhāne sānim parikkhipāpetvā nisinno purise āṇāpesi : “bāhirato vāṇijesu āgatesu tatiyena pāṭihārena ārocethā” ’ti. “Nāvā āgatā” ’ti sutvā Bārāṇasito satamattā vāṇijā “bhaṇḍam gaṇhāmā” ’ti āgamimsu. “Bhaṇḍam tumhe na labhissatha, asukaṭṭhāne nāma mahāvāṇijena saccakāro dinno” ti. Te tam sutvā tassa santikam āgatā. Pādamūlikapurisā purimasaññavasena tatiyena pāṭihārena tesam āgatabhāvam ārocesum. Te satamattāpi vāṇijā ekekaṁ sahaṣṣam datvā tena saddhim nāvāya pattikā hutvā puna ekekaṁ sahaṣṣam datvā pattim vissajjāpetvā bhaṇḍam attano santakam akamsu. Cullantevāsiko dve sata-sahaṣṣāni gaṇhitvā Bārāṇasim āgantvā.....

Cullakasetṭhi Jātaka.

A young man of good family but reduced circumstances.....picked up the mouse which he sold for a *kākaṇi* at a shop for their cat. With the *kākaṇi* he got molasses and took drinking water in a waterpot. Coming on flower-gatherers returning from the forest, he gave each a tiny quantity of the molasses and ladled the water out to them. Each of them gave him a handful of flowers, with the proceeds of which, next day, he came back again to the flower grounds provided with more molasses and a pot of water. That day the flower-gatherers, before they went, gave him flowering plants with half the flowers left on them; and thus in a little while he obtained eight *kaḥāpaṇas*.

Later, one rainy and windy day, the wind blew down a quantity of rotten branches and boughs and leaves in the king's pleasaunce, and the gardener did not see how to clear them away. Then up came the youngman with an offer to remove the lot, if the wood and leaves might be his. The gardener closed with the offer on the spot. Then this young apprentice repaired to the children's playground and in a little while got them by bribes of molasses to collect every stick and leaf in the place into a heap at the entrance to the pleasaunce. Just then the king's potter was on the look out for fuel to fire bowls for the palace, and coming on this heap, took the lot off his hands. That day the young apprentice by selling the wood obtained sixteen *kahāpanas* as well as five bowls and other vessels. Having now twenty-four *kahāpanas* in all, a plan occurred to him. He went to the vicinity of the city-gate with a jar full of water and supplied 500 mowers with water to drink. Said they, "you have done us a good turn, friend. What can we do for you?" "Oh I'll tell you when I want your aid," said he; and as he went about, he struck up an intimacy with a land-trader (?) and a sea-trader (?). Said the former to him, "To-morrow there will come to town a horse-dealer with 500 horses to sell." On hearing this piece of news, he said to the mowers, "I want each of you to-day to give me a bundle of grass and not to sell your own grass till mine is sold." "Certainly," said they, and delivered the 500 bundles of grass at his house. Unable to get grass for his horses elsewhere, the dealer purchased our friend's grass for a thousand pieces. Only a few days later his sea-trading friend brought him news of the arrival of a large ship in port; and another plan struck him. He hired for eight *kahāpanas* a well-appointed carriage which plied for hire by the hour, and went in great style down to the port. Having bought the ship on credit and deposited his signet-ring as security, he had a pavilion pitched hard by and said

to his people as he took his seat inside, "when merchants are being shown in, let them be passed on by three successive ushers into my presence." Hearing that a ship had arrived in port, about a hundred merchants came down to the cargo, only to be told that they could not have it as a great merchant had already made a payment on account. So away they all went to the young man; and the footmen duly announced them by three successive ushers as had been arranged beforehand. Each man of the hundred severally gave him a thousand pieces to buy a share in the ship and then a further thousand each to buy him out altogether. So it was with 200,000 pieces that this little apprentice returned to Benares.

CHAPTER I

DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANISATION OF TRADE

Trade a natural sequel to industry. The different trades. Market-place.

The small trader or hawker. Big traders : caravan. Correspondents. Wholesale and retail trade.

Corporate organisation. Partnership and guilds.

Trade methods. Speculation. Transaction on credit. Advertisement and publicity. Depression. The successful vendor.

The *seṭṭhi* : his fabulous wealth. Stores. His relation with king ; with fellow merchants and citizens. Hereditary office ? Assignee of tolls. His unofficial rank. Administrative function. Benevolent work.

Trade is a natural sequel to industry. In the wake of a *sippa* must follow *vohāra*. For an industrial product must as a matter of course look for a market for its disposal. Such markets and such transactions are necessary concomitants of any industrial effort and occur in the earliest stages of economic life. With the specialisation of industries and their localisation in particular places whether in a whole country or in a village or in a small street of a town, this commercial intercourse multiplies in proportion. The horse-producing Sindhu and the cloth-manufacturing Kāśī are brought into the same intimate economic relationship as were formerly the animal-breeder and weaver plying their trade side by side in the same village. Exchange of goods bound down the whole land of India, particularly the north, in a close economic unity to which even Rome, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, China, Indonesia and farther East were brought into brisk commercial intercourse.

Between the producer and the consumer stood the stockist and the middleman. The vendor stocked various goods from producers in his shop for sale. We know of grain merchants (*dbañṇika*)

Trade follows industry.

Stockists and shops.

who kept double-mouthed sample-bags (ubhatimukhā mutoli) to keep samples in of various sorts of grain (Dn. XXII. 5). Merchants traded in diverse article like fruits, herbs, sugarcane, honey, ointment, planks of wood, tooth-brush and smoking-pipe (Jāt. IV. 495). Among traders, practising in a town are dealers in cloth (dussika), in perfumes (gandhika), groceries (pañṇika), fruits (phalika), and roots (mūlika) (Mil. 331, 262). Tulādhāra, the trader lived by selling juices (rasa), scents (gandha), barks and timbers, herbs, fruits and roots¹ (Mbh. XII. 261. 2). The shops were set up in rows on the two sides of the main thoroughfares or around the market place (singhātaka, gāmamajjha, bhaṇḍa-bhājanīyaṃ thānaṃ) with a tendency for shops of the same wares to group together forming a special bazar of their own.

Shops were not always stationary. They might be moving. In the Jātakas the hawker is a common sight. A merchant goes about from village to village hawking goods on a donkey's back (vāṇijo gadrabhabhārakena vohāraṃ karonto vicarati, II. 109 ff.). A petty hawker shouts with his wagon in the middle of the village (gāmamajjhe) with "buy my cucumber, buy my cucumber" (I. 205). A grocer's daughter (pañṇikadhītā) hawks jujubes in a basket "buy my jujubes, buy my jujubes" (badarāṇi gaṇhatha badarāṇi gaṇbathā'ti, III. 21). Sometimes these people evince a higher sort of business intelligence. Two potters apportion two streets in the same town between themselves to eliminate competition and peddle their pots from door to door (I. 111).

¹ The producer and the dealer are not always clearly distinguished. E.g., the *gandhika* may mean one who prepares scents as well as one who stocks and sells them. So an *odonika* is both a caterer and a distributor of foodstuffs.



Besides these small traders there were big merchants who collected huge cart-loads of wares from their centres of production and sent them to distant countries where they might be sold at a higher price. The Jātakas are full of references to caravans or long lines of two-wheeled bullock carts such as is represented at Bharhut in the scene of the purchase and gift of the Jetavana. Their strength is given at the conventional figure of 500 wagons under a leader (*satthavāha*, I. 98, 368, 377, 404; III. 200, 403; V. 164, 471). "The carts struggled along slowly, through the forests, along the tracts from village to village kept open by the peasants. The pace never exceeded two miles an hour. Smaller streams were crossed by gullies leading down to fords, the longer ones by cart ferries."¹ Regarding one of these an interesting piece of information is given. A great caravan of one thousand carts (*mahāsakaṭṭasattho sakaṭasahassam*) was going from the East country to the West country. Wherever it went it consumed swiftly straw, wood, water and verdure (*tiṇokaṭṭhodakam haritakavaṇṇam*). Now in that caravan were two caravan-leaders each commanding one-half of the carts.² Thinking that wherever we go we consume everything—they divided the caravan into two equal portions and equipped with food and provender started separately (Dn. XIII. 23; cf. Jāt. I. 98).

The trade magnates had "correspondents" in big and opulent cities with whom they disposed of their goods wholesale. A correspondent and friend of Anāthapiṇḍika at the border sent 500 cart-loads of local wares to barter in the shop of the Sāvatti merchant. The people were hospitably received, lodged and provided with money for their needs,—and given goods

¹ Rhys Davids; *Buddhist India*, p. 98.

² So the unit of 500 under the charge of one *satthavāha* remains intact.

in exchange. A return despatch from Anāthapindika was summarily refused with insults by the border correspondent for which however he was paid back in his own coin during the next offer from him (Jāt. I. 377).

The wholesale dealers distributed the wares to retail dealers on a commission or share of the profit. The rules of the Arthaśāstra on retail sale seem to be based on the assumption that the latter did not purchase the goods and sell them in better terms to derive a middleman's profit. They were rather agents or salesmen of wholesale dealers, possibly representing several at a time. The Arthaśāstra lays down :
 “ Retail dealers selling the merchandise of others at prices prevailing at particular localities and times shall hand over to the wholesale dealers as much of the sale proceeds and profit as is realised by them. Rules of sealed deposit shall apply here. If owing to distance in time or place there occurs any fall in the value of the merchandise, the retail dealers shall pay the value and profit at that rate which obtained when they received the merchandise.”

Vaiyyāvṛtyakarā yathādeśakālaṃ vikrīṇānāṃ paṇyaṃ yathājātamūlyamudayaṃ ca dabyuḥ. Śeṣamupanidhinā vyākhyātam. Deśakālātīpātane vā parihīnaṃ sampradāna-kālikena argheṇa maulyam-udayaṃ ca dabyuḥ.

“ This rule does not hold good for servants selling their masters' wares. Such merchants as belong to trade guilds or are trustworthy and are not condemned by the king need not restore even the value of that merchandise which is lost or destroyed owing to its inherent defects or to some unforeseen accidents. But of such merchandise as is distanced by time or place, they shall restore as much value and profit as remains after making allowance for wear and tear of the merchandise.”

“ Sāṃvyavahārikeṣu vā prātyayikeṣvarājavācyēṣu bhreṣo-panipātābhyāṃ naṣṭaṃ vinaṣṭaṃ vā mūlyamapi na dadyuḥ.

Dēśakālāntaritānām tu paṇyānām kṣayaavyayaśuddhamūlyamudayaṃ ca dadyuh. Paṇyasamavāyānaṃ ca pratyamśaṃ. III. 12.

Elsewhere it is given that the trader should calculate the daily earnings of middlemen and fix that amount on which they are authorised to live ; for whatever income falls between sellers and purchasers (*i.e.*, brokerage) is different from profit.

Yannisrṣṭam upajīveyuh tadeśāṃ divasasañjātaṃ saṃkhyāya vaṇik sthāpayet. Kreṭṛ-vikreṭro-rantarapatitam ādāyātanyaṃ bhavati. IV. 2.

This is obviously the agent's commission which is to be fixed by the trader to a rate likely to give an enterprising middleman quite a decent income.

Corporate organisation as developed in industries did not progress as far in commerce. With regard to industries guild organisation was the order of the day, with commerce it was an exception, it being generally pursued individually and independently. Partnership was of course not uncommon. Vidura quotes an adage to king Dhṛtarāṣṭra that concerns of wealth should not be pursued alone (Mbh. V. 33. 50). Two merchants from Sāvātthi trade with their wares in 500 cart-loads from the East country to the West country and come back to Sāvātthi with a lucrative profit.

Sāvātthivāsino hi kuṭavāṇijo ca paṇḍitavāṇijo ca dve janā pattikā hutvā pañcasakaṭasatāni bhaṇḍassa pūretvā pubbantato aparantaṃ vicaramānā vohāraṃ katvā bahu-lābhaṃ labhitvā Sāvātthiṃ paccāgamimsu.

They then set down to divide the returns (Jāt. II. 167). Similarly two merchants from Benares dispose their wares in the country districts in partnership (dve janā ekato vaṇijjaṃ karontā laddhalābhā). They fall to quarrel over the share of the proceeds, one claiming share of a half on the strength of equal investment in stock-in-trade,

Corporate organisation : partnership.

another two-third on the score of superior acumen. The former wins (I. 404).

But of the *seni*, *gāma* and *pūga* there is hardly any reference. In the Karle Cave is recorded a gift by the *gāma* of traders (*vaniya-gāmasa*) from Dhenukākaṭā, but nothing is known about its nature or constitution.

Guild.

Trade guilds seem to be conceived in the rules of Gautama (XI. 20 f.) and in the prognosis of the Arthaśāstra that traders unite to raise prices like modern corners and make a profit of cent per cent (VIII. 4). But as has been already seen individual tradesmen entered into similar compacts for mutual interest from their inherent business instinct, and these show at best an appreciation of the community of commercial interests. Instances of co-operation are not rare. Parties of mariners voyaging by the same vessel under a *jetṭhaka* may have chartered it in concert (Jāt. II. 128 ; IV. 138 ff ; V. 75 ; VI. 34). Parties in a caravan were brought together for purposes of safety through long forest journeys and accepted the leadership of the *satthavāha* for guidance as to halts, watering, precautions against brigands and beasts, routes, fording, etc.¹ "Subordination was not however always ensured (Jāt. I. 108, 368 ; II. 295 ; III. 200), and the institution does not warrant the inference of any further syndicalism among traders." As regards commercial organisation, Mrs. Rhys Davids' statement stands substantially correct : that there is "no instance as yet produced from early Buddhist documents pointing to any corporate organisation of the nature of a guild or Hansa League."² Later literature gives undisputed evidences of such leagues. For example, in the Śukranīti "a *sāmayikapatra* or business deed is one which individuals frame after combining their

¹ For example the merchants in a party of 1,000 under the two leaders in Dn. XXIII. 23. See *supra*, p. 255.

² Cambridge History, p. 211.

shares of capital (svadhanāṃśa) for some business concern (vyavahāra) (II. 11. 627 f.). The reason for the somewhat later development of commercial combines was probably that trade was still a wandering profession while industrial organisations depended largely upon settled relations and ties of neighbourhood.

Trade in the Jātakas is very often speculative. A young man picks up and sells a dead mouse and by successful dealings works up the capital to become rich. The last transaction is in a ship's cargo which he holds and disposes at 200,000 pieces (I. 120-122). The outlay being 1,000 the profit is 20,000 p.c. 100, 200 and 400 p.c. are the profits at which caravan masters barter their wares (I. 98 ff., 109; IV. 2). A boy begins with a humble stock-in-trade, voyages to Suvannabhūmi with some other merchants in a ship and makes enough money to recover his paternal kingdom (VI. 34).

Indications to the development of commerce may be had from the prevalence of several trade practices. Business deeds or documents recording a description of the property purchased and the price paid for it were known among merchants (Vṛ. VIII. 7; cf. Suk. III. 378 f.). Big deals were made on credit. The speculating young man bought the cargo of a ship on credit giving his signet ring as security. Sale by public auction after notification is witnessed by Strabo (XV. i. 50-52)¹ and in the Arthaśāstra (II. 21). Merchants advertised their goods by singing their praise themselves (vāṇijā viya vācasanthutiya. Com : yathā vāṇijo attano bhaṇḍassa vaṇṇam eva bhanati, V. 425) or through an agent, e.g., the hostess of a travelling tailor (tunnavāya)

¹ Vincent Smith has corrected the reading to sale after having the royal seal (Asoka).

who on his behalf gives publicity to his profession in the village (amma vīthisabhāgānam ārocehī'ti, sā sakalagāme ārocesi) so that in one day 1,000 pieces were earned (VI. 366). Political crises had their repercussions on business transactions. After Rāma's exile the business of Ayodhyā suffered under general depression and shops remained closed for several days (Rām. II. 48. 36 f.; 71. 41).

The application, judgement, cleverness and 'connexion' of the successful shopkeeper (pāpaṇika) are interestingly discussed (An. I. 116 f.; cf. Mn. II. 7; Vin. I. 255). He is shrewd (cakkhumā), knowing his goods (paṇiyam jānāti): this article bought for so much and sold for so much, will bring in so much money, such and such profit (idaṃ paṇiyam evaṃ kītaṃ evaṃ vikkayamānam ettakaṃ mūlaṃ bhavissati ettako udayo ti). He is clever (vidhūro), skilful in buying and selling goods (kusalo hoti paṇiyam ketuṇ ca vikketuṇ ca). He inspires confidence (nissaya-sampanno), inasmuch as wealthy people seeing his stability give him credit. Possessed of these three characteristics, a shopkeeper in no time attains greatness and increase of wealth (tīhi angehi samannāgato pāpaṇiko na cirass' eva mahantattaṃ vā vepullattaṃ vā pāpuṇāti bhogesu).

Despite the absence of the guild system, that there was a certain organisation in urban business is apparent from the rôle of the *setṭhi*. The words *śreṣṭhin* and *śraiṣṭhya*, used in the Vedic literature would appear from their contents, to mean 'headman' and 'his position of primacy.'¹ Later, in Pali literature the *setṭhi* conveys the idea of one of the upper bourgeoisie, a great merchant or commercial magnate

The *setṭhi*: his wealth.

¹ Macdonell and Keith: *Vedic Index*.

who sends his caravan from *pubbanta* to *aparanta* or ships his cargo across the high seas. In a more technical sense the *setṭhi* was the head of this trading class, a wealthy and popular magnate who, like the rural *bhojaka* and the industrial *jeṭṭhaka*, stood in close relation to the king. His wealth is computed at the conventional figure of 80 crores (Jāt. I. 345, 444, 466; II. 331; III. 56, 129, 300; IV. 1, 255; V. 382). He stocked huge quantities of grain in his granaries (I. 467) obviously to dispose in scarcity on advantageous terms. With his big capital he employed small craftsmen and benefited by their labour (*setṭhim nissāya vasantassa tunnakārassa tunnakammena jīvissāma*, IV. 38). The *setṭhi* of Rājagaha is competent to pay 200,000 *kaḥāpanas* as medical fee (Mv. VIII. 16).

The compound Rājagahasetṭhi is a pointer to the fact that the richest merchant of a town or village, the *setṭhi par excellence*, discharged certain specific functions and had a unique position with respect to others. In the inscriptions of the Sanchi tope the *setṭhi* of a village is in several instances mentioned without his proper name, while the *gahapati* appears with his name and sometimes village as well.¹ His was a position of authority over the fellow traders. During his dedication of the Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍika, the chief *setṭhi* of Sāvatti was attended by 500 *setṭhis*.

Through this leader the king maintained his contact with the mercantile community. In this capacity of a go-between the *setṭhi* filled one of the highest offices of state (*setṭhi-tṭhāna*, Jāt. I. 120 ff.; III. 448; V. 382; *setṭhitā*, Mahāvamsa, p. 69). The *gahapati*, one of the seven jewels (*ratanaṃ*) of a king is explained by Buddhaghosa as *setṭhi-gahapati*.

¹ The *setṭhi*, who appears with his name and place in the Karle Cave In., is an ordinary merchant, not the chief *setṭhi*.

This official is often seen waiting upon the king (*rājupaṭṭhānam gato*, III. 19 ; *rājupaṭṭhānam katvā*, IV. 63). His relation is sometimes informal and personal. A king desirous of renouncing the world is supplicated by his parents, wife, children, the commander-in-chief, the *setṭhi*, and the people. The *setṭhi* offers him his accumulated fortune and requests him to stay (V. 185).

The rich business lord probably led the co-operative efforts of merchants in his town and was very popular with his community. Presumably this popularity and influence with his community and with the people at large was the reason for his selection into king's service. The *setṭhi* of Rājagaha does good service both to the king and to the merchants' community (*ayaṃ kho setṭhigahapati bahūpakāro rañño c'eva negamassa ca*, Mv. VIII. 16). A *setṭhi* in office is honoured both by the king and by citizens and countryfolk alike (*rājapūjito nagarajanapadapūjito*, V. 382). When the princes and queens fell victim to a king's furore the citizens uttered not a word ; but when the *setṭhis* were seized for execution, the whole city was troubled and the people went with their relatives and begged for mercy (VI. 135).

The *setṭhi* therefore was not a civil official in the sense the *senāpati* or the *amātya* was. As an intermediary, he was half an official and half a popular figure. As an official he was selected by the king on the basis of his wealth and influence (Jāt. I. 120-22). But as the son generally succeeded to his father's trade (II. 64, 236 ; *setṭhānusetṭhīnam kulānam puttā*, Mv. I. 9. 1.) and inherited his wealth and influence, the office of the *setṭhi* nominally selective, tended to be hereditary. The sixth descendant of a *setṭhi* is found continuing in the post of his forefathers (Jāt. V. 384). There is little to distinguish between social rank

Position with citizens.

Hereditary office ?
Social rank.

and civil office in this respect.¹ The two were co-existent and a *setṭhi* fallen in social position was little likely to continue in the king's grace ; nor would the king make an alternative selection when the son of the retired official was fit to take the mantle.

The specific functions of the *setṭhi* as a civil official is nowhere clearly defined. A king by his
Administrative functions.
decrees makes a gift of the East market town to a merchant (*pācinayavamajjhaka gāmam rājabhogena bhuñjā'ti*) and makes the other thousand merchants his subordinate (*sesasetṭhino etass'eva upatṭhākā hontu*, VI. 344). There is hardly any authority to render *setṭhi* as ' treasurer ' ² for which the Pali word is *bhaṇḍā-gārika*. He may have assisted the king in framing his financial policy and advised him on the methods and rates of assessment on big business. He carried the king's orders to his fellow merchants and presumably was responsible for their execution. As emoluments for his services, the tolls, taxes and customs dues of a particular business area might be assigned to him. Sometimes he was assisted by a second (*anusetṭhi*, Jāt. V. 384 ; Mv. I. 9. 1) from his own class. He had little to do with the king's treasury.

With the growing industrial and commercial life of the
Municipal power.
town, the *setṭhi* rose into power and prominence and came to play a new rôle. As leader of the most important urban class and as a civil official of the highest rank he was the hot favourite to be entrusted with municipal administration,—to be promoted to the *viṣaya*-council or even to the position of Lord Mayor. The Basarh seals and the Damodarpur and Paharhpur Inscriptions throw sidelights into the civic functions of

¹ Cf. ".....it would seem that the rank of *setṭhi* was hereditary, and this is confirmed by the later literature ; but this applies to the social rank only, and not to the office." Rhys Davids : *Vinaya Texts*, I, p. 102.

² In the translation of the Jātakas under Cowell's editorship.

the *setthi*. This is nothing strange for the head of a class who, like the upper bourgeoisie of the national-democratic age in Europe, were at the forefront of every liberal movement and set the example of unstinted charity. The hoarded crores of Anāthapiṇḍika, emptied for the alleviation of the miseries of the poor and for the propitiation of the Saṃgha, the great *caitya* cave at Karle and similar costly gifts at Kanheri, Mathura and Sanchi give a glimpse into the means and ways by which they attained to their phenomenal power and popularity.

CHAPTER II

PRICE AND MARKET

Free bargain : haggling. Price quotations. Customary rates and indeterminate price. Price-fixing. The court-valuer. Price regulation. Statute-fixed prices. Cornering and inflation of price. Proportion between big and small trade. Standard of living.

“ And because they first bargain and afterwards come to terms (the priest and the king over the *soma* juice in terms of cow-payment) therefore, about any and everything that is for sale here, people first bargain and afterwards come to terms.” (Śat. Br. III. iii. 3. 1-4.)

This practice of a “ free bargain ” unregulated by law and custom was widely prevalent up to the beginning of the 6th century B.C. Prices were determined mostly by haggling, sometimes climbing up from a single *kahāpaṇa* to 100 or 1,000 (Jāt. III. 126 f.). “ The act of exchange between producer or dealer, and consumer was, both before and during the Jātaka age, a ‘ free ’ bargain, a transaction unregulated by any system of statute-fixed prices. Supply, limited by slow transport and individualistic production, but left free and stimulated, under the latter system, to efforts after excellence on the one hand and to tricks of adulteration on the other,..... sought to equate with a demand which was no doubt largely compact of customary usage and relatively unaffected by the swifter fluctuations termed fashion.”¹

The statement may be best examined in the light of some available price quotations which may be arranged into the following schedule :

Price quotations.

¹ Mrs. Rhys Davids : J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 875.

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COMMODITY	PLACE	PRICE	REFERENCE
ANIMALS			
Slave—male or female	...	100 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	Satena kitadāsa, Jāt. I. 224; satakitadāsi, III. 343.
Slave—king's son	...	1,000 gold <i>nikkha</i>	VI. 547.
A serviceable ass	Mithilā	8 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	VI. 343.
Oxen—1 pair	Benares	24 ..	II. 305.
An average horse	..	1,000 ..	II. 306.
A thoroughbred foal	..	6,000 ..	II. 289.
A team of chariot horses	Mithilā	90,000 ..	VI. 404.
A nice plump dog	...	1 .. + a cloak	II. 247.
A dead mouse	...	1 <i>kākaṇi</i>	I. 120.
EATABLES			
Meat for a chameleon	Mithilā	1 <i>kākaṇi</i> — $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>māsaka</i>	VI. 346.
A fish		7 <i>māsaka</i>	II. 424.
A jar of spirits	Benares	1 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	I. 350.
Ghee or oil—a small modicum	Sāvatthi	1 ..	Vin. IV. 248 f.
Dinner dish for royal horse	Benares	100,000 ..	I. 178.
Royal dinner dish	..	100,000 ..	II. 319.
CLOTHING			
Nun's cloak—1	Sāvatthi	16 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	Vin. IV. 256.
A robe for a court lady	..	1,000 ..	II. 24.
A Sivi robe	..	1,000 ..	IV. 401.
A robe of Kāsi muslin	Vedeha	100,000 ..	Satasahasagghanikam kāśikavattham, III. 11; VI. 403, 450.
Shoes or sandals—each pair according to quality	Sāvatthi	100-1,000 ..	IV. 15.
Jewelled housings of a royal elephant	...	2,000,000 ..	VI. 488.
Tailoring repairs : a day's earnings in a village	Benares	1,000 ..	VI. 366.

COMMODITY	PLACE	PRICE	REFERENCE
ORNAMENTS			
An ornament of a <i>setthi's</i> wife	Sāvatthi	100,000 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	III. 435.
Gold necklace fitted with sandalwood	Sivi	100,000 ..	VI. 480; I. 340.
Gold wreath of a <i>setthi's</i> wife	...	1,000 ..	Sahasagghanikam kāñcanamālam, II. 373
MISCELLANEOUS			
Sandal perfume (quantity?)	...	100,000 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	Satasahasagghanikam candanasāraṃ, II. 373.
Garland, perfume and spirits: for day-labourers	Benares	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>māsaka</i> + $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>māsaka</i>	III. 446.
A bundle of grass	Benares	1 <i>māsaka</i>	III. 130.
Merit of a pious act	Sāvatthi	200-500 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	I. 422,
HOUSE AND FIELD			
A play-hall for 1,000 boys worked by voluntary labour	Mithilā	1,000 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	VI. 332.
A monastic cell		500 ..	pañcasatam vihāram, Mn. 52.
A field (measurement?)	Nasik	4,000 ..	Nasik Cave In.
JOURNEY AND TRANSIT			
Hire of carriage per hour	Benares	8 ..	I. 121.
Fording of 500 carts hiring a bull	Benares	1,000 ..	I. 195.
Fee for a forest convey	..	1,000 ..	II. 335; V. 22, 471.
Ferry toll for			
1 empty cart	Brahmarṣi	1 ..	Manu, VIII. 404.
1 man's load	(Kuru,	$\frac{1}{2}$..	
1 animal and	Pañcāla,		
1 woman	Matsya,	$\frac{1}{4}$..	
1 man without load	Sūrasena)	$\frac{1}{4}$..	
FEES, PENSIONS AND SALARIES			
Teacher's honorarium (for a whole course)	Taxila	1,000 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	I. 205; II. 47, 278; IV. 38; V. 128.
" "		7 <i>nikkha</i> (insufficient)	IV. 224.
Actors'—to tour a whole country	Benares	1,000 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	III. 61,
Doctor's—for curing <i>setthi's</i> wife	Sāketa	16,000 .. + 2 slaves, a carriage and horses	Vin. I. 272.



COMMODITY	PLACE	PRICE	REFERENCE
Doctor's—for curing a <i>seṭṭhi</i>	Rājagaha	20,000 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	Mv.
Court-valuer's for each testing	Bhāru-kaccha	8 „ (insufficient)	IV. 138.
Chief Courtesan's—1 night	Benares	1,000 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	III. 435, 59 f., 475; IV. 248 f.
„ „	Vesāli	50 „	Mv. VIII. 1.
„ „	Rājagaha	100 „	Mv. VIII. 3.
Chief Courtesan's salary	...	1,000 „	Arth. II. 27.
Snake-charmer's wind-fall—1 day	...	1,000 „	IV. 458.
Hire of an assassin	...	1,000 „	V. 126.
Archer—capable of exhibition shooting—1 year	Benares	100,000 „ (274 <i>kahāpaṇa</i> daily, too high)	II. 87.
„ „ 1 fortnight	„	1,000 <i>kahāpaṇa</i> (67 Ks. daily, normal)	I. 357.
„ „ 1 day	„	1,000 <i>kahāpaṇa</i> (too high)	V. 128.
Tracker of footsteps	Benares	1,000 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	III. 505.
A coolie—1 day		1—½ <i>māsaka</i>	III. 326.
Pension for courtiers and Brāhmaṇas—1 day	Anga	100 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	Mn. 94.
Salary of royal Officers: Grades—1 year or month	...	500 „ 1,000 „ 48,000 „ 24,000 „ 12,000 „ 8,000 „ 4,000 „ 2,000 „ 1,000 „ 500-60 „	Arth. V. 3.
Spies: grades—	...	1,000-250	
Messenger—for 1 <i>yojana</i>	...	10 „	
Messenger for 1 <i>yoj.</i> above 10 up to 100	...	20 „	
Superintendent of stables	...	10,000 „	Mbh. III. 57. 6.

A few customary rates are quite apparent, *e.g.*, 100 *kahāpaṇas* for a slave, 100,000 for a gold necklace or costly jewellery, 1,000 for a hall, for a course of learning or for a visit to the chief courtesan, 67 coppers a day for a skilful archer is

Customary rates and indeterminate price.

quite fair but the figures of 274 or 1,000 are pretty high to excite the jealousy of other officers. Similarly 8 coppers for each valuation is contemptuously refused as a 'barber's gift' by a price expert. But except for a few items like these it is hazardous to theorise on the basis of the Pali canonical data. Figures are often hyperbolic and wrecklessly exaggerated. Fancy prices are quoted for articles of royal consumption irrespective of their real valuation. The price for a horse or mare may range from 1 *kahāpaṇa* to 100,000. A pair of shoes presented to Buddha may worth double the cost of building a *vihāra* and while sandal-perfume may sell at the rate of 100,000, a pair of water-carriers may plan their merry-making with garland, perfume and spirits with a purse of 1/16 of a *kahāpaṇa*. Prices varied not only in localities and with the ingress and egress of the commodity. It depended to a great extent on the fancy of the customer and on the need and bargaining capacity of the parties.

But better business principles than unrestricted bargaining were just beginning to dawn. For certain commodities and in certain quarters the advantages of a fixed price were growingly realised. When two merchants were bound for the same destination with their caravan, it was for the foolish merchant to gloat over 'fixing his own price' and anticipate his competitor. The wise Bodhisatta chose to go after him thinking "haggling over prices is killing work; whereas I following later shall sell my wares at the price already fixed" (*aggha-tṭhapanam nāma manussānam jīvitā voropanasadisam, aham pacchato gantvā etehi tṭhapitagghen'eva bhaṇḍam vikkiṇissāmi, Jāt. I. 98*).

The beginning of price fixation is in the institution of the court-valuer (*agghakāraka, agghāpanika, Com. Therag. 20, 393 ff. ; Jāt. I. 124*). He settled the price of goods ordered for the palace.

He stood between the dilemma of offending the king with too high a rate and of driving away the tenders by excessive cheapening. In making an estimate he had to consider the fancy and liberality of his master. His decision was liable to revision by the king (II. 31) and he himself was not immune from bribes and baits (I. 124-126). In spite of these drawbacks the system conduced to set up certain standard rates. The office of the court-valuer was also gradually transformed into that of a price-expert or into a ministry or board of price control for the whole market. The municipal bodies of the Mauryas regulated prices (Str. XV. i. 50). In the Arthaśāstra it is ordained that the price-expert shall, on consideration of outlay, quantity manufactured, amount of toll, interest on outlay, hire and other expenses, fix the price of merchandise with due regard to its having been manufactured long ago or imported from a distant country.

Deśakālāntaritānām tu paṇyānām prakṣepam paṇyanispattim śulkaṃ vṛddhimavakrayaṃ vyayānanyāṃśca saṃkhyāya sthāpayet argham arghavit, IV. 2.

Statutory price and price control.

Statute-fixed prices appear first in Manu and in the Arthaśāstra. According to the Arthaśāstra a profit of 5 per cent over and above the fixed price of local commodities and of 10 per cent on foreign produce will be fixed. Merchants who raise the price or realise profit even to the extent of $\frac{1}{2}$ *paṇa* more than the above in the sale or purchase of commodities shall be fined 5 *paṇas* in case of realising 100 to 200 *paṇas* (tataḥ paramarghaṃ vardhayatām kraye vikraye vā bhāṇayatām paṇaśate pañcapañāddiśato daṇḍaḥ, IV. 2). In Manu, the king is to settle prices publicly with the merchants every fifth or fourteenth day, fixing "the rates for the purchase and sale of all marketable goods" after consideration of their expenses of production (VIII. 401 f.).

With growing commercialisation new economic factors arose to set the legal price at nought. ^{Cornering and inflation.} Against the big business and monopoly concerns the royal statute was of little avail. It is confessed in the Arthaśāstra that “traders unite in causing rise and fall in the value of articles, and live by making profits cent per cent in *paṇas* or *kumbhas*” (vaidehakāstu sambhūya paṇyānām utkarṣopakarṣaṁ kurvānāḥ paṇe paṇaśatam kumbhe kumbhaśatam ityājīvanti, VIII. 4). To meet this evil, “merchants who conspire either to prevent the sale of merchandise or to sell or purchase commodities at higher prices shall be fined 1,000 *paṇas*” (vaidehakānām vā sambhūya paṇyam avaruddhatām anargheṇa vikrīṇatām krīṇatām vā sahasraṁ daṇḍaḥ, IV. 2). Yājñavalkya also imposes the highest amercement “for traders combining to maintain price to the prejudice of labour and artisans, although knowing the rise or fall of prices” or “to obstruct the sale of a commodity by demanding a wrong price, or for selling it” (II. 249 f.). Viṣṇu ordains the same punishments for a company of merchants who prevent the sale of a commodity by selling it under its price, and for those of a company who sell an article for more than its worth (V. 125 f.). “The sale or purchase should be conducted at the price which is fixed by the king, the surplus made therefrom is understood to be the legal profit of traders.”

That these well-meaning efforts of the state were lost upon the designing merchants is further proved by the fact that the state itself fell in line with the same tactics. As owner and controller of vast state manufactures, the king was to corner the goods and raise prices by artificial means to increase the profit. “That merchandise which is widely distributed shall be centralised and the price enhanced. When the enhanced rate becomes popular, another rate shall be declared.”

Yacca paṇyam pracūram syāt tadekīkr̥tyārgḥām āropayet. Prāpte'rghe vā'rgḥāntaram kārayet, II, 16. The state is also to take freely the advantage of the rise in prices of its merchandise due to bidding among buyers (krayasaṃgharṣe, II. 6).

Thus the state in the conception of the Arthaśāstra plays well the part of the scheming cartel. The transition from free bargain to cornering and price inflation accompanied the growth of large industries and business in the commercial cities, which kept customers at their mercy.¹ And since the old law still prevailed that a price once fixed holds good, fair or unfair, that a transaction cannot be revoked (Rv. IV. 29. 9),² it weighed more heavily on the customer than on the seller. The saving grace of the system was that it bears no comparison with the modern American parallel in the sphere of its influence. Almost the whole of rural areas and a large part of urban business were outside the sinister hold of monopolists. Small trade still controlled a big share of the country's business and they in turn were freely exploited by the customers as well as by the big businessmen.

In a free market dominated to a great extent by the 'fish-ethics' and with the fragmentary and biased data as presented, it is impossible to estimate the cost of living of any class of people with regard to a particular time and place with any approximation to accuracy. We have no price figures for the basic commodities of consumption, none for the staples like wheat, barley or rice. Prices were always and everywhere fluctuating and to make the confusion worse

¹ A very early evidence of how fodder grass is cornered by a speculator is in Jātaka, I. 121.

² Cf. the transaction of the Jetavana. Later legists qualify this rule. Vṛ. XVIII. 5; Nār. IX. 2 f.

confounded the coins, viz., the *paṇa* or the *kārṣāpaṇa*, the *māṣa* or the *māṣaka* varied in their exchange value from place to place. Only the names of metallic tokens are found to be universal; their ratios are not uniform, their metallic contents differ and hence their purchasing power even for the same actual price. We may only just compare without dogmatising the status of a water-carrier who plans his festive mirth with 1 *māṣaka* or a grass-cutter who sells his bundle for the same price with the weaver of Kāśī whose fabric sells with the king at a fancy price if not exactly at the round number 100,000 *kahāpaṇas*.

CHAPTER III

THE METRIC SYSTEMS : DISORDER IN MARKET

Fluidity of weights and measures. Standard weights. Linear measures. Square measures. Fluctuation between places and times.

Dishonest dealings. False scales, coins, and measures. State as an exemplar. The malpractices and fines. Adulteration. The sinister buyer. From chaos to order.

For commodities sold by weight and measurement, price was a still more indeterminate factor. For like coins, weights and measures varied in their standards and ratios from place to place.

References are very common in Pali and Sanskrit literature and inscriptions to standard weights like *pala*, *droṇa*, *āḍhaka*, *prastha*, *khāri*, etc., in the measurement of foodcrops and other eatables. A few tables are available giving their metric relations.

TABLE I

4 māgadhaḥapattba	=1 kosalapattba	4 kudumba	=1 prastba
4 kosalapattba	=1 āḍhaka	4 prastba	=1 āḍhaka
4 āḍhaka	=1 droṇa	4 āḍhaka	=1 droṇa
4 droṇa	=1 mānikā	16 droṇa	=1 vāri
4 mānikā	=1 khāri		
		20 droṇa	=1 kumbha
		10 kumbha	=1 vaha

—Paramatthaṭṭhikā on Sū., p. 123

—Sāratthappakāsinī on Sn. I, 150

—Arthaśāstra, II. 19.

TABLE II

10 guṇja	=1 māṣa	10 māṣa or 5 guṇja	=1 suvarṇamāṣa
10 māṣa	=1 karṣa	16 suvarṇamāṣa	=1 suvarṇa or karṣa
10 karṣa	=1 padārdha	4 karṣa	=1 pala
10 padārdha	=1 prastha	88 gaurasarṣapa	=1 dharapa
5 prastha	=1 āḍhaka	20 taṇḍula	=1 vajradharapa
20 armaṣa	=1 khārikā		

—Arthaśāstra, II. 19.

8 rati	=1 māṣā
10 māṣā	=1 suvarṇa

—Śukranīti, II. 775-78.

Buddhaghosa's table corresponds very fairly with that of the Arthaśāstra. In the Mahābhārata, the *prastha* is a small measure of barley made up of 4 *kuḷavas* (XIV. 89. 32). The small *prastha* of Magadha may well be equated with the *kudumba* or *kuḷava* and the *khāri* with the *vāri*. The table of the Śukranīti differs conspicuously, 1 *āḍhaka* being equal to 5 *prasthas* instead of 4, and 1 *khāri* equal to 160 *āḍhakas* instead of 64. But then the Śukranīti is a much later work and it itself admits that "these measures differ with countries."

The second table of the Arthaśāstra, collated with the Smṛtis (Manu, VIII. 134-37 ; Viṣ. IV. 7-10), stands as

5 guṇja, kṛṣṇala, rati or gaurasarṣapa	=1 māṣa
16 māṣa	=1 karṣa ¹
4 karṣa	=1 pala

Now 1 *guṇja* seed or *rati* weighs about 1.75 grains

∴ 1 *pala* = 1.75 × 320 grains or 560 grains

¹ According to the Arthaśāstra 88 *gaurasarṣapas* instead of 80 make the weight of a *dharapa*, i.e., one *karṣa*. The margin may be explained by the fact that according to the Arthaśāstra, i.e., in the place of its composition, the weight of the white mustard seed was slightly below that of a *guṇja* seed.

The ratio between the *pala* and any of the standards in Table I is nowhere given except for a somewhat confusing statement in the Arthaśāstra that

200 *palas* = 1 *droṇa* of royal dues (*āyamānam*).

And $187\frac{1}{2}$ *palas* = 1 *droṇa* of royal sales (*vyavahārikam*).

If the *vyavahārika droṇa* is the standard *droṇa* of Table I, then the *āyamāna droṇa* in which the royal incomes are measured is appreciated by 6·4 per cent. Conversely if the *āyamāna* is the real *droṇa* then the measure used for disposal of king's merchandise is depreciated by 6·25 per cent.¹ Thus

1 *droṇa āyamāna* = 200 *palas* = 560×200 *grs.* = 16 lbs.

1 *droṇa vyavahārika* = $187\frac{1}{2}$ *palas* = $560 \times 187\cdot5$ *grs.* = 15 lbs.

If the Arthaśāstra clue is accepted, 1 *droṇa* equates roughly either with 8 *srs.* or with $7\frac{1}{2}$ *srs.* The shot is not very wide of the mark since during Rāma's prosperous reign cows are said to be yielding 1 *droṇa* of milk each (*droṇadughā*, Mbh. XII, 29. 58) and 8 *srs.* is an extraordinarily high but by no means impossible yield for a good cow. 1 *āḍhaka* on this assumption is about 2 *srs.* and 1 *prastha*, $\frac{1}{2}$ a seer. The proportion between the *āḍhaka* and the *prastha* does not discord with that in a Mathura inscription of Huviṣka's time where an endowment is made to provide the destitute with a daily allowance of 3 *āḍhakas* of groat (*saktu*), 1 *prastha* of salt, 1 *prastha* of *saku* (?) and 3 *ghaṭaka* and 5 *mallaka* of green vegetables (*haritakalāpaka*). The proportion between salt and groat works out at somewhat less than 1 : 12, allowing a portion of salt for the vegetables.²

¹ Such manipulation with metric units to raise the margin of king's profit is freely acknowledged in the Arthaśāstra.

² Cf. the Maṇḍeśwari Inscription of Udayasena in Shahabad district of the early 7th century where is recorded a grant of 2 *prasthas* of rice and 1 *pala* of oil to the god Maṇḍeśwara. On our computation, assuming 200 *pala* = 1 *droṇa*, 2 *prastha* = 25 *pala* and the ratio between oil and rice is 1 : 25, which is quite satisfactory. But the oil may also have been meant for illumination.

The surmise may therefore be hazarded that the following weight standards, more or less uniformly, prevailed in the Ganges valley in the centuries near about the Christian era :

TABLE I

4 kudumba or kuḷava or māgadhaprastha (=1/8 sr.)	=1 prastha (=1/2 sr.)
4 prastha	... .. =1 āḍhaka (=2 srs.)
4 āḍhaka	... .. =1 droṇa (=8 srs.)
16 droṇa	... .. =1 kbāri or vāri (=128 srs.)

The smaller units, on the basis of the Śāstra data may be compiled into :

TABLE II

5 guṇja, kṛṣṇala, rati or gaurasarṣapa (=1.75 grs.)	=1 māṣa (8.75 grs.)
16 māṣa	... .. =1 karṣa (140 grs.)
4 karṣa	... .. =1 pala (560 grs.)
12.5 pala	... .. =1 prastha (1 lb.)

None of these agree with their corresponding names in the Śukranīti. But Śukra saves us by saying that not only these measures differ with countries but even their ratios vary for particular commodities. For example, in the case of an elephant's value 5 *rati* = 1 *māṣa* quite in agreement with our Table II. Several other weights are cursorily referred to in the Pali works and in the inscriptions, *e.g.*, the *ammaṇa* (Jāt. V. 297 ; Mv. IV. 1. 19 ; Mil. 102),¹ *acchera* (Jāt. V. 385),² *pasata* (Mv. VIII. 11),³ *nālika* (Sn. I. 81), *ghaṭaka* and *mallaka* in the Mathura Inscription. With the present state of our knowledge these names remain elusive to us.

¹ *Armaṇa* of Sanskrit.

² Cf. Marathi 'acchera' = ½ seer.

³ = 2 *pala* according to Sanskrit lexicographers.

Linear measures are less perplexing. The only available list is that of the Arthaśāstra and it is self-explanatory in several details, besides in certain portions, being corroborated by the Śukranīti. It goes (II. 20) :—

TABLE III

8 paramāṇu ...	...	...	= 1 rathacakraviprud
8 rathacakraviprud ...	...	...	= 1 likṣā
8 likṣā ...	...	...	= 1 yūkāmādhya (·01 in.)
8 yūkāmādhya ...	...	...	= 1 yavamādhya (·09 in.)
8 yavamādhya ...	...	...	= 1 angula (·75 in.)
4 angula ...	...	...	= 1 dhanurgraha (3 in.)
8 angula ...	...	...	= 1 dhanurmuṣṭi (6 in.)
12 angula ...	...	...	= 1 vitasti or chāyāpauruṣa (9 in.)
14 angula ...	...	...	= 1 śama, śala, parivaya or pada (10·5 in.)
2 vitasti ...	...	...	= 1 āratni or prājāpatya hasta (18 in.)
2 vitasti + 1 dhanurgraha ...	...	...	= 1 hasta in measuring balances, cubic measures and pasture lands (21 in.)
2 vitasti + 1 dhanurmuṣṭi ...	...	...	= 1 kiṣku or karpasa (24 in. = 2 ft.)
42 angula ...	...	...	= 1 kiṣku of sawyers & blacksmiths, used in measuring camp grounds (2ft. 7·5 in.)
54 angula ...	...	...	= 1 hasta for measuring timber forest (3 ft. 4·5 in.)
4 āratni ...	...	...	= 1 daṇḍa, dhanu, nālika or pauruṣa (6 ft.)
108 angula ...	...	...	= 1 gārbapatya dhanu measuring roads and fort walls.
			= 1 pauruṣa measuring sacrificial altars (6 ft. 9 in.)
6 karpasa ...	...	...	= 1 daṇḍa measuring brahmadēya land (12 ft.)
10 daṇḍa ...	...	...	= 1 rajju (60 ft.)
2 rajju ...	...	...	= 1 parideśa (120 ft.)
3 rajju ...	...	...	= 1 nivartana (180 ft.)
3 rajju + 2 daṇḍa ...	...	...	= 1 bāhu (192 ft.)
1,000 dhanu ...	...	...	= 1 garuta (or krośa, com.) (1 mi. 240 yds.)
4 garuta ...	...	...	= 1 yojana (4 mi. 960 yds.)

The metric equivalents in English are made on the assumption that 1 *hasta* or cubit = 18 in. This gives $\frac{3}{4}$ in. for the *angula* or the breadth of the mid-joint of the middle finger of an adult man. The breadth of a barley corn is slightly less than $\frac{1}{4}$ in. and of a louse $\frac{1}{10}$ in. At the longer end of the table, a *daṇḍa* or the ascetic's rod, a *dhanu* or the archer's bow and a *pauruṣa* or the full-grown average man is 6 ft. high. The relations between the *angula*, *vitasti* and *āratni* and that between the *garuta* and *yojana* stand certified by Moggallana's *Abhidhānappadīpikā*. In the *Sukranīti* equations are cursorily thrown in from two different scales which may be compiled into the following :

Sukranīti (I. 387-414)

Arthaśāstra

Brahmā	Manu	
8 yavodara = 1 angula	5 yavodara = 1 angula	8 yavamedhya = 1 angula
24 angula = 1 kara	24 angula = 1 kara	24 angula = 1 hasta
4 kara = 1 daṇḍa	5 kara = 1 daṇḍa	4 hasta or āratni = 1 daṇḍa
25 daṇḍa = 1 nivartana	25 daṇḍa = 1 nivartana	30 daṇḍa = 1 nivartana
25 nivartana = 1 parivartana	25 nivartana = 1 parivartana	
5,000 kara = 1 krośa (2 pari.)	4,000 kara = 1 krośa	4,000 hasta = 1 garuta or krośa

It will be observed that for measures below the *daṇḍa* the *Brahmā* scale agrees with the *Arthaśāstra* but above the *daṇḍa* its *nivartana* is less by 20 cubits and its *krośa* longer by 1,000 cubits. The proportion between the cubit and the *krośa* is the same in *Manu* and the *Arthaśāstra*, and between the *angula* and the cubit, same in all the three scales.

The *āratni* prevailed as far as in the land of *Kuru* and in the *Punjab*. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (VII. 176. 19) and in the *Milinda* (85). The *Yona* king could clear 8 *āratni* with a jump, i.e., 12 ft.—quite an average record for a good athlete. The *yojana*, as derived from applied tests from references in *Pāli* literature, appears however as

a somewhat longer distance than $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles obtained from the *Arthaśāstra*.¹

Square measures lead again into a hopeless maze. The *Arthaśāstra* gives no tables for these and the only available data are a few cryptic expressions in the *Sukranīti* (I. 386-417).

Square measure.

768 <i>yavodara</i> (<i>Brahmā</i>)	}	= (area of) 1 <i>daṇḍa</i>
600 <i>yavodara</i> (<i>Manu</i>)		
625 <i>daṇḍa</i>		= 1 <i>nivartana</i>
1 <i>bhuja</i> or side of a <i>parivartana</i>		= 25 <i>daṇḍa</i>
1 <i>parivartana</i> of cultivable land		= 4 <i>bhuja</i> (a square with each side = 25 <i>daṇḍa</i>)
		= 625 <i>daṇḍa</i> (sq.)
2,500 <i>parivartana</i> or		
25,000,000 sq. cubits		= 1 <i>krośa</i>

Strangely, 768 or 600 *yavodara* which = 1 linear *daṇḍa* is also = 1 sq. *daṇḍa*, while 1 sq. *nivartana* $(25 \text{ daṇḍa})^2 = 625 \text{ sq. daṇḍa}$. As a square measure the *parivartana* works out to be the same as the *nivartana*. But on what calculation 1 *parivartana* equates with 10,000 sq. cubits and 2,500 *parivartana* with 1 sq. *krośa* remains unknown. No clues are available elsewhere to resolve these mysteries. The only accountable and intelligible equation of this table is that

TABLE IV

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ sq. } \textit{nivartana} \\ \text{(or possibly) 1 sq. } \textit{parivartana} \end{array} \right\} = 625 \text{ sq. daṇḍa} = 25 \text{ daṇḍa} \times 25 \text{ daṇḍa}$$

But even this square *nivartana* does not correspond with the *Arthaśāstra*'s linear *nivartana* inasmuch as it is 30 and not 25 *daṇḍa*. The square *nivartana*, on the basis of different linear systems works out to

¹ See the tabulated list in Rhys Davids : *On the Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 16.

Brahmā	Manu	Arthasāstra
25 daṇḍa × 25 daṇḍa = 100 kara × 100 kara	25 daṇḍa × 25 daṇḍa = 125 kara × 125 kara	30 daṇḍa × 30 daṇḍa = 120 hasta × 120 hasta
$= \frac{1800 \times 1800}{144 \times 9}$ sq. yds.	$= \frac{2250 \times 2250}{144 \times 9}$ sq. yds.	$= \frac{2160 \times 2160}{144 \times 9}$ sq. yds.
= 2500 sq. yds.	= 3906·25 sq. yds.	= 3600 sq. yds.
= ·5165 acre.	= ·8071 acre.	= ·7438 acre.

This *nivartana* is very commonly used in land measurements particularly in the Nasik charters. In one of the Gadval Plates of Vikramāditya I (674 A.D.)¹ a village is said to be measuring 50 *nivartana* which according to Table IV works out to 25·825 or 40·355 or 37·19 acres or between 1/25 and 1/16 of a sq. mile. Other measures are found to be in use outside those in the Śukarnīti's table. In the Gupta and Vākāṭaka inscriptions *bhūmi* is the current measure about which no clue is given. In the Ganesgaḍ Plate of Dhruvasena I (Baroda, Gupta era 207), the *khaṇḍa* is a measure of land, 8 *khaṇḍas* containing 300 *pādāvarta* which is explained by the commentator on the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra as square foot.² But inscriptions from Kathiawad dating in the 6th century³ give the measurement of cultivable fields as 180, 120 and 130 *pādāvarta*, of a pond (*vāpī*) as 32 *pādāvarta* and of irrigation wells as 16 and 12 *pādāvarta* showing that the measure was much larger than a square foot. Thus the *pādāvarta* like other square measures varied in different times and places. The *khaṇḍa* is a piece of land in which a *khaṇḍuga* of seed (Gadval Plates ; Inscriptions of early Ganga kings in Mysore) is sown. The *khaṇḍuga* is an unknown standard but there are other known standards of weight applied to land measurements ; *e.g.*, fields in which 1, 2 or 3 *khāri* or 5,...14 *droṇa* of seed are sown.⁴

¹ E. I., X, 28.

² E. I., III, p. 323, fn. 3.

³ E. I., XI, 5, 9.

⁴ Also 1 *kulya*,—in the Almora district assigned to the 6th or 7th century, E. I., XIII, 7 B.

Dishonest dealings ran rampant in the market and false scales, false weights and false measures were the most convenient methods. The glorious days are worth yearning for when merchants did not sell articles with false weights and measures (kūṭamānaiḥ, Mbh. I. 64. 22), a practice characteristic of the damned Kali age (III. 187. 53; XII. 228. 70). *Tulākūṭa* and *mānakūṭa* are in the list of disapproved gifts (Mil. 279; cf. Viṣ. LIV. 15). Gotama abstains from cheating with *tulā*, *kaṃsa* and *māna* i.e., with scales, coins and measures (Dn. I. i. 10; An. II. 209; V. 205 f.; Sn. V. 474.). In a more comprehensive list, the Śukranīti enumerates,—“Deceit by means of false weights and measures, false and counterfeit coins, unscientific medicinal extracts and other preparations, passing off of base metals for genuine and high class things and food adulteration, all these channels of dishonest transactions are to be checked” (I. 590-92).

According to the Arthaśāstra the state itself is to derive some profit by using different weights and measures from those current in the market, i.e., higher ones for royal purchases and levies and lower ones for sales of royal merchandise. But the same work, while setting up a bad example in the state, enters into long philippics against the subjects and prescribes a fine of 200 *pāṇa* for those who cause to a merchant or purchaser the loss of even $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *pāṇa* by substituting with tricks of hand (*hastadoṣeṇācarataḥ*), false weights and measures or other kinds of inferior articles (*tulāmānāntaram arghavarṇāntaram vā dhāraḥkasya māpakasya vā*). The class of merchants who lead in these underhand methods are the goldsmiths adopting false balances (*tulāviṣama*), removal (*apasāraṇa*), dropping (*visrāvaṇa*), folding (*peṭaka*) and confounding (*pinka*) with several ingenious tricks described in detail under each head (II. 14). Another

False scales, coins and measures.

Control of unfair business.

practice was to pass bad articles as good ones. "The sale or mortgage of articles such as timber, iron, jewels, robes, skins, earthenware, threads, fibrous garments (*valka*), woollen clothes (*romamayam*) as superior though they are really inferior (*jātamityajātam*) shall be punished with a fine eight times the value of the article" (*ibid.*, Yāj. II. 245f.). "The sale or mortgage of inferior as superior commodities (*sārabhāṇḍam ityasārabhāṇḍam*), articles of some other locality as produce of a particular locality (*tajjātam ityatajjātam*), adulterated things (*rādhāyuktam*), deceitful mixtures (*upādhiyuktam*), dexterously substituted articles to those just sold (*samutparivartitam*) shall be punished with a fine of 54 *paṇa* and shall make good the loss." "Those who conspire to lower the quality of works of artisans, or to obstruct their sale or purchase shall be fined 1,000 *paṇa* (*kāruśilpinām karmaguṇāpakarṣam ājīvaṃ vikrayaṃ krayopadhānam vā sambhūya samutthāpayatām sahasraṃ daṇḍaḥ*)."¹ "Adulteration of grains, oils, alkalis, salts, scents, and medicinal articles with similar articles of no quality (*dhānya-sneha-kṣāra-lavaṇa-gandha-bhaiṣajya-dravyānām samavarṇāpadhāne*) is fined with 12 *paṇas*."

Adulteration was very common in business dealings. Yājñavalkya repeats (II. 244) the injunction of the Artha-

śāstra and Vṛhaspati lays down: "A merchant who conceals the blemish of an article which he is selling, or mixes bad and good articles together, or sells (old articles) after repairing them, shall be compelled to give the double quantity (to the purchaser) and pay a fine equal (in amount) to the value of the article" (XXII. 7, 13). Manu censures adulteration of grain (XI. 50). In the Jātakas it is a current malpractice (I. 220) and

¹ The worst offence in business transactions is to combine into a conspiracy to drive away from the market a competitor by unfair disparagement of his produce or by blocking his sales and purchases. Com.

those who mixed good grain with chaff and sold it to a buyer are presented as Tantalus in hell.

Ye suddhadbaññaṃ palāpena missaṃ
asuddhakammā kayiṇo dadanti VI. 110

Sometimes the haggling buyers beat the seller in a
sinister bargain in the market place, and
The dishonest cus- are hooked like fishes in purgatory in
tomer. consequence of their misdeed.

Ye keci santhānagatā manussā
agghena aggham kayam hāpayanti
kuṭena kuṭaṃ dhanalobbhahetu
cannaṃ vāricaraṃ vadhāya VI. 113

Com.—agghena agghanti, taṃ taṃ aggaṃ lañcam gaḥetva
hattbiassādīnaṃ vā jātārūparajataḍīnaṃ vā tesam tesam
saviññāṇakānaṃ aviññāṇakānaṃ agghaṃ hāpentī itaraṃ
paññāsaṃ tehi saddhīṃ vibhajitvā gaṇhanti.

Thus not only the buyer and the seller but sometimes also
the middleman or the price expert has his share of the
spoils in a market dominated by unscrupulous pursuit of
wealth.

There could not be any clearer proof of straying into
unfair business than the heavy fines imposed by statesmen
and law-givers and the damnation of Kali
or threat of perdition held out before the
The market: from public by those who stood for ethical
chaos to order. values even in the pursuits of gain. It is because of this
widespread anarchy that Manu has to confess that pursuits
of trafficking and usury are by themselves a mixture of truth
and falsehood (satyānṛta, IV. 6). Traces of order were
however emerging here and there. Every market had its
standard weights and measures as evident from the current
lists of names, though they fluctuated from place to place
and time to time introducing an element of chaos in

inter-*janapada* commerce. The Arthaśāstra conceives of a Superintendent of Commerce (*paṇyādhyakṣa*) to supervise weights and measures and prevent deception with false weights and scales (II. 11). Of the Maurya Empire little is known about the function of "the great officers of state" who "have charge of the market"; but about the fourth body of the municipality of Pāṭaliputra it is definitely said that it superintended trade and commerce, its members having charge of weights and measures (Str. XV. i. 50).

CHAPTER IV

OVERLAND TRADE AND TRADE ROUTES

Inland trade, The five road systems. (1) North-south : Pratiṣṭhāna-Śrāvastī. Ancillary routes, Ujjayinī-Bhṛgukaccha-Tagara. (2) Southwest-southeast : Bhṛgukaccha-Kauśāmbī-Tāmraliptī. (3) East-west : Pāṭaliputra-Pāṭāli. (4) East-north-west : Campā-Puṣkalāvātī. (5) Southwest-northwest : Bhṛgukaccha-Puṣkalāvātī. Central Asiatic routes. Insecurity.

Road-making and maintenance. Transit. River-routes. Dangers of overland trade. Police,—civil and mercenary. Difficulties of caravan journey. The motive force of gain.

The semi-anarchical business conditions did not stand in the way of inter-state commerce. The *Inter-janapada* trade. self-sufficiency and isolation of *gāmas* and *janapadas* were broken by active trade and long highways of commerce intersecting between them. The specialisation and localisation of particular industries in particular *janapadas* were sufficient urge for exchange of their products stimulated by a free market in which profit to the tune of 400 per cent. was not an unexpected hit. Long lines of caravan plied along the cross-country roads linking into a common market the horse of Sind, the wool of the Himalayas, the muslin of the East and the pearl of the South.

The main overland routes resolve into five systems, linking the middle Ganges valley (a) with the upper Godavari valley and the southwestern coast, (b) with the lower Ganges valley and the eastern coast, (c) with the Sindhu and the Indus delta, (d) with the Indus valley and Gandhāra, (e) linking the southwestern coast with Gandhāra. Each of these systems had extensions to distant foreign countries to the east and to the west, the first and second by sea, the third and fourth by land, the fifth by land on one side and by sea on the other.

The central route of the first system is what was followed by the pupils of Bāvari accurately described in the Suttanipāta,—*i.e.*, from Patitṭhāna of Aḷaka to Māhissati, Ujjenī, Gonaddha, Vedisā, Vanasabhaya, Kosāmbi, Sāketa, Sāvatti, Setavya and Kapilavatthu. Southward from Kapilavatthu and within the middle Ganges valley this route was extended to Kusinārā, Mandira, Pāva the city of wealth, Vesālī of Magadha and to the beautiful Rock Temple (Pāsānika Cetya), the destination of the party (Vv. 1011-13). It went farther south to Pāṭaligāma (later Pāṭaliputta), Nālanda Rājagaha and probably Gayā. During his last ministering tour from Rājagaha to Kusinārā, Buddha crossed the Ganges at Pāṭaligāma and made eleven haltings besides that at Vesālī, at *gāmas* and *nagaras* (Dn. II. suttanta XVI. 81 ff). Parts of this high-road are noticed elsewhere, *e.g.*, that (addhānamagga) from Kusinārā to Pāvā (Jāt. VI. 19; Dn. XVI. iv. 26) and that between Sāketa and Sāvatti (Mv. I. 66.1) traversed by king Pasenadi of Kosala in relays of seven carriages (Mn. 23; Sn. IV. 373). Probably the great road-construction between Ayodhyā (Sāketa) and the Ganges *en route* the Daṇḍaka forest described in the Rāmāyaṇa (II. 80) covered part of this trunk road.

The main route had its branches and off-shoots. The *niṣāda* country located in the north of Avanti at the foot of the Vindhya had its connecting roads with Kośala and Vidarbha (Mbh. III. 61. 21-23) and with Cedi¹ (64. 131) along which caravans are found plying. The first must have converged with the great Ujjayini-Ayodhyā road and the other two were possibly linked with this through Ujjayinī. But the foremost ancillary routes of the Pratiṣṭhāna-Śrāvasti

(1) North-south :
Pratiṣṭhāna-Śrāvasti.

Ancillary routes :
Ujjayinī-Bhṛgukaccha-
Tagara.

¹ Located by Pargiter on the bank of the Jumna, south-east from the Chambal towards Karwi. Its capital Śuktimati is identified somewhere near Banda.

system were those connecting its northern and southern portions to the great western seaport of Bhārukaccha. According to the Periplus much cotton cloth was brought down to Barygaza from the metropolis of Abiria called Minnagara or the city of the Sakas (*i.e.*, Ujjayinī) (47). From Ozene “are brought down all things needed for the welfare of the country about Barygaza and many things for our trade: agate and carnelian, Indian muslin, and mallow cloth, and much ordinary cloth” (48). In the south Bhārukaccha was connected by means of cart tracks with the Godavari road leading to Pratiṣṭhāna and Tagara. “There are brought down to Barygaza from these places by wagons and through great tracks without roads (because of the hills) from Paethana carnelian in great quantity, and from Tagara much common cloth, all kinds of muslin and mallow cloth and other merchandise brought there locally from the regions along the sea-coast (Eastern coast)” (51). These western extensions of the main road became busy with traffic after Bhārukaccha eclipsed Roruka as the chief outlet of Indian goods for the western world.

The terminus of the eastern route was the seaport of Tāmralipti. It met the Pratiṣṭhāna-Śrāvasti road at Kauśāmbi *via* Gayā and Bārāṇasi. Traders seen on journey from Benares to Ujjein must have taken this course (Jāt. II. 248). There was much traffic by boat also along the Ganges through the riparian cities of Campā, Pāṭaliputra and Bārāṇasi (Jāt. II. 112; IV. 5-17, 159; VI. 32-35). The muslins of Vanga, Puṇḍra and Kāśī reached Ujjayinī along these land and river routes to be exported abroad from Bhārukaccha. The Tāmralipti road and the lower Ganges must have had feeding routes opening up the interior of Bengal. There is very little concrete evidence of the overland trade to the east of Campā and Tāmralipti.

(2) Southwest-south-east : Bhṛgukaccha-Kauśāmbi-Tāmralipti.

The east-west route ran between Pāṭaliputra and the mouth of the Indus after the city had acquired imperial eminence. It had a nucleus between Magadha and Sovīra from earlier times (VVA. 336, 370) possibly reaching Roruka the old seaport situated somewhere on the gulf of Cutch.¹ This is the connecting road from *pubbanta* to *aparanta* through which merchants are frequently seen plying in the Jātakas. Between Kosāmbi and Bārāṇasi it converged with the Kosāmbi-Tāmralipti road. Beyond that its exact course is not known.² From the Delta it continued through Iran to the west. Horses from Sind and from Iran (Kosmas—quoted in McCrindle) were imported along this road to the Gangetic cities.

The royal road from Pāṭaliputra to the north-west frontier is specifically mentioned by Megasthenes (Str. XV. i. 11). The main body of this road existed long before the rise of the Maurya Empire, in the palmy days of Videha linking Mithilā with Gandhāra and Kashmir (Jāt. III. 365). Passing through the city of Ariṭṭhapura and possibly the Pañcāla city of Kampilya (VI. 419, 463), it crossed the Madra city of Śākala (Mil. 16f.) and met Taxila and Puṣkalāvati in Gandhāra. To the south-east it extended from Mithilā to the Anga city of Campā (VI. 32) thus linking up the farthest east to the north-western borders of India.

Further details and haltings of this Campā-Mithilā-Kampilya-Śākala route may be gleaned from the course taken by the messengers from Kośala to Kekaya in the Rāmāyaṇa. Starting from Ayodhyā along river Mālinī flowing between the country of Aparatāla in the west and the *janapada* of Pralamba in the north, they forded the

¹ Cunningham locates this in Alor of Sind.

² The *addhānamagga* between Mathurā and Verañjā was probably a part of this system (An. II. 57); the location of the latter is not known.

Ganges at Hastināpur, traversed the Pañcāla country and proceeded westward through the heart of Kurujāṃgala. They next crossed the river Śāradanḍa, entered the city of Kulingā, left behind the twin villages named Tajuvibhavam, crossed the river Ikṣumatī, passed through the region of Bālhika along rivers Vipāsā, Śālmālī, etc., to the city of Girivraja,—capital of Kekaya (II. 68. 12ff).¹ This is the same road stretching between Pāṭaliputra and Kājaṃgala at the foot of the Himalayas which a *setthi* with 500 wagons is seen crossing (Mil. 16 f.). Horse-dealers from Uttarāpatha travelled by this road to Benares (Jāt. II. 31, 237). The Himalayan products of skin, wool, edible spices, precious stones and gold bound for the plains, took this road by its northern branches.

The fifth and the last road system of the north connected Bhṛgukaccha with Gandbāra. (5) Southwest-north-west : Bhṛgukaccha-Puṣkalāvati. The earliest reference to this is in the Periplus where it is found extended up to Puṣkalāvati (47) whence it had further connexions with Kaśyapapura or Kashmir, Paropanisus or the Hindukush, Kabul and Scythia, bringing the spikenard of these places for export through Barygaza (48). The exact course of this Bhārukaccha-Puṣkalāvati road is not known.

The east-northwest and the west-northwest road systems met at Puṣkalāvati and thence they converged to proceed through the Pamirs to Bactria. Raw silk, silk yarn and silk cloth thus found their way from China through Bactria to Barygaza and to Damirica by way of Ganges (64). From Bactria the road coursed through Central Asia to the west. "People have been conveyed from the Oxus through the Caspian into the Cyrus and Indian merchandise can be brought by land to Phasis in Pontus in five days

¹ Bharata takes a shorter route through the countryside and wild regions presumably because he was in a hurry.

at most " (Pliny, VI. 17).¹ Aristoboulos also avers " that large quantities of Indian merchandise are conveyed by the Oxus to the Hyrcanian (Caspian) Sea and are transferred from thence into Albania by the Cyrus and through the adjoining countries to the Euxine " (Str. XI. vii. 3). This north-western route leading from Gandhāra to the Middle East was much preferred to the western route from Indus through Persia to the Levant. In the first quarter of the second century B.C. the Greek invasion from Bactria through the Kabul valley to the Jumna and a century later the Śaka invasion from Seistan into the country of the lower Indus took these routes in the north-west and entrenched into a position commanding the great central Indian routes from Ujjayinī.

The north-western route beyond Puṣkalāvātī, because of these constant war and tribal movements, was not very hospitable to international trade. The caravan traffic of these regions was not regular but incidental, subject to depredation of savage tribes. It was much reduced by Parthian wars in the first century A.D.¹ giving a tremendous impetus to seaborne trade from Barygaza. The road to China was equally unsafe until the subjugation of Turkestan by that empire. " The land of This is not easy of access ; few men can come from there and seldom " (Peri. 64).² With the rise of the empire of Kaniṣka,

Insecurity of the
Bactrian route.

¹ " The Parthians had done what they could to control and organise it and to levy tribute on the Roman merchants, but they had not controlled it to the eastward. The existence of a unified power (from 45 A.D. under Kadphishes, I) in the Indus valley and Afghanistan made possible a regular trade from the Ganges to the Euphrates. The rapid growth of such trade is indicated by the coinage of the Yueh-Chi kings in India (struck in imitation of Rome)"—Schoff, p. 187.

² For land-routes between China and India, see Schoff, pp. 268 ff. Regarding Indo-Chinese trade he observes, " With the rise of the Kushan dynasty in the north-west and their relations towards their former home in the Chinese border it was natural that the communication by the Turkestan routes should increase. While the military success of China did not begin until 73 A.D., it is known that the Chinese Emperor

trade with Mesopotamia and China became more secure and active.

The trunk roads were taken care of and ferries maintained (Mv. III. 20 f.) by the successive Road-making and maintenance. *janapadas* through which they passed or where they occurred. Bridges are nowhere mentioned. There were shady trees on both sides of the roads, wells for drinking water to which Emperor Aśoka gave much attention (R. E. II ; P. E. VII),¹ relays of horses of carriages for travellers at intervening stations and rest-houses (*āvasathāgāra*) or choultries set up by the charitable millionaires or by village or municipal bodies. In the Maurya Empire they were marked with signboards noting turnings and distances at intervals of 'ten stades' (Str. XV. i. 5.). The Rāmāyaṇa gives a graphic picture of a bold road-making project. Soil-specialists, surveyors and carpenters were requisitioned, road-guards posted at places under construction. Forests were cleared, trees planted in sparsely vegetated places by the highway, ditches filled, hills levelled, tanks excavated and picturesque cities built on both sides of the road (80).

A fair part of the inland trade was carried along the rivers of the Ganges and the Jumna and River routes : dangers of inland trade. the large number of tributaries descending into them from the Himalayas and the Vindhya. Boats plied for hire. Sometimes they ran express. Where a water-course could be availed of, the land-route was generally dispensed with. It was preferred

Ming-Ti (who ruled from 58 to 75) introduced Buddhism into China by the invitation of two Indian Sramanas, Kāśyapa Mātanga and Bhāraṇa, who arrived in 67 A.D. (Takakasu, Introduction of I-t'ing, p. xvii). Before such an invitation there must have been considerable activity on the part of the missionaries, then as now the forerunners of commerce." P. 275.

".....mankind has been blessed with many such blessings by the previous kings as by me."

to sail down from Benares to Tāmralipti despite the caravan-route (Jāt. IV. 15-17). Probably the water-routes were comparatively safer, easier, sometimes quicker and hence less expensive. The roads penetrated through hills and forests which were favourite resorts of beasts, robbers (Jāt. III. 403) and Yakkhas (III. 200). A caravan straggled in a forest by beasts and robbers is a choice analogy (vyāla-taskara-sampkīrṇe sārthahīnā yathā vane, Mbh. IX. 3. 13). A caravan of seafaring merchants on their way to sea, while resting in a mountain cave is attacked and exterminated by an infuriated elephant (XII. 169. 1). In the unsettled civil conditions of the times there was no check to these depredations. The Maurya police for a time must

Police : civil and professional.

have improved the conditions a little and here and there wise statesmanship, alert of the importance of import and export trade came into grips with the problem.¹ But the measures touched only the fringe when effective communications were lacking and whole tribes had to depend on a marauding life. The situation gave rise to the typical institution of the age. Bands of caravan-guards cropped up on the same lines as robber gangs under the command of a *jeṭṭhaka* settling at the entrances of forests and biring themselves out to passing caravans for safe escort.

Bodhisatta pañcapurisasataparivāro aṭaviārakkhikesu jeṭṭhako hutvā aṭavimukhe ekasmiṃ gāme vāsam kappesi. So bhatim gahetvā manusse aṭavim atikkameti. Jāt. II. 335.

A wealthy Brāhmaṇa travelling from the East to the West (i.e., by the road between the Ganges valley and the Indus delta) with 500 wagons hired a convoy who lived at

¹ E.g., in the Arthasāstra the office of the *corarajjuka* whose function includes the escorting of caravans and tracking of robbers,—a tax being levied for the policing on those who benefited by it.

the entrance of the forest at 1,000 pieces. They were defeated and the Brāhmaṇa taken away by a man-eating monster. The men rose and gave a chase to preserve the sanctity of their contract and recovered their paymaster at the peril of their life (V. 471). Another caravan-leader who hired guards for the same amount (aṭavipālanam sahaṣṣam datvā) through a forest was in the same way faithfully defended by the warders against an ogre (V. 22).

A caravan journey was beset with other and more numerous difficulties. These are lucidly set forth in the Jātaka stories :

A caravan merchant when about a night's journey from his destination, after supper relieved the caravan of the surplus wood and water. The pilot sat in the front cart. "But so long had he been without sleep that he was tired out and fell asleep, with the result that he did not mark that the oxen had turned round and were retracing their steps. All night the oxen kept on their way, but at dawn the pilot woke up, and, observing the disposition of the stars overhead shouted out, 'Turn the carts round! turn the carts round!' And as they turned the carts round and were forming them into line, the day broke. 'Why, this is where we camped yesterday,' cried the people of the caravan. 'All our wood and water is gone, and we are lost.' So saying, they unyoked their carts and made a laager and spread the awning overhead; then each man flung himself down in despair beneath his own cart" (I. 108).

The *aparanta* and the Gandhāra routes had to traverse the arid lands of Sind and Western Rajputana. In crossing the desert the caravans are said to travel only in the night and to be guided by a 'land-pilot' (thala-niyyāmaka), who just like mariners, kept the night route by astronomical observations (I. 107). The traders knew no obstructions. They nego-



tiated hills, forests and deserts, defied all predators human, animal and ethereal—not from any spirit of blind adventure but from the love of gain. No wonder they bartered their goods for three or four times their value. The unprotected civil condition reacted on the market. It fits well with free bargain and speculative business.

CHAPTER V

SEABORNE TRADE AND TRADE ROUTES

Growth of maritime trade. Ship-building industry. Tonnage of ships. Freight charges. Professional crews and pilots. The compass and the crow. The seaport or *pattana*.

India in international trade. Mesopotamia; the Euphrates route; Iran,—imports and exports. The Mediterranean or Nile route; Arabia, Socotra, Berbera, Arab monopoly in Red Sea; Egypt, development of Egyptian trade, Indo-Egyptian trade routes. Arab-Roman rivalry. Roman Empire, Indian goods in Roman market, exports and imports. Indo-Roman trade curve.

The Southern trade. The Tamil countries and Ceylon. Burma and Indonesia.

History of foreign trade. The Mauryas. The Śakas. The Andhras, Kalingas and Vangas. The Kuṣāṇas.

Dangers of the sea. Stories of shipwreck. The tidal bore at Cutch and Cambay. Piracy, the Konkan coast. The motive force of gain.

While inland trade moved mainly along roads and rivers, foreign trade was carried across the seas.

Development of maritime trade.

Evidences of bold sea-voyages come from the earliest literary references of the *R̥g-veda*.¹ The early Smṛti works while laying these under severe strictures for Brāhmaṇas, only show the futile attempt to arrest a practice which had come to stay. Baudhāyana prescribes loss of caste to transgressors (*samudrasaṃyānam*, II. 1. 2. 2) and Manu excludes them from entertainment at the *śrāddhas* (III. 158). But the former admits: "Now the customs peculiar to the North are, to deal in wool, to drink rum, to sell animals that have teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, to follow the trade of arms, to go to sea" (I. i. 2. 4), a clear evidence of the commercial activities of the people of Sind and the Punjab across the Indian ocean. Expert

¹ For references see R. K. Mukherji : *Indian Shipping*, pp. 53-55.

voyagers (samudrayānakūśalāḥ) are recognised in Manu's code as respectable enough to be authorised to fix the rate of interest on money lent on bottomry (VIII. 157)¹ apparently no stigma attaching to them. In the Rāmāyaṇa a boat in mid-sea loaded with heavy cargo is an apt metaphor (IV. 16. 24; V. 25. 14). Sugrīva gives instructions to his emissaries, sent in search of Sītā to include islands, mountains and sea-ports in the quest (samudram-avagādhāṇśca parvatām pattanāni ca, IV. 40. 25). In a verse of the Dīgha merchants are known to "have crossed the ocean drear, making a solid path across the pools" (ye taranti aṇṇavam saram setum katvāna vasijja pallalāṃ, XVI. i. 34). In the Anguttara voyages lasting for six months are well-known facts (presumably with haltings) made in ships which could be drawn up on shore in winter (An. IV. 127). The Jātaka verse is sufficiently familiar with "a ship full-rigged for distant seas" to use it as a metaphor (III. 478).

To meet the demands of sailors, ship-building had to be cultivated as a separate industry. Qualities of wood were investigated, technicalities of construction were perfected and the art was studied as a separate branch of science. The Yuktikalpataru, a Sanskrit work on certain industrial products of India, makes an elaborate classification of ships of different size and shape giving technical names to each and their parts and quotes from a lost earlier work of Bhoja on the various qualities of wood used. In the Rāmāyaṇa, Guha's boats are fitted with massive bells and banners, well-piloted and well-knit (yuktavāhāḥ susaṃhatāḥ, II. 89 17) quite fit to meet the billows and the blasts. During Alexander's invasion, the Xathroi ran huge dockyards and supplied to the invader galleys of 30 oars and transport vessels (Arr. Anab. VI. 15).

¹ Nīrāyaṇa and Nandana give a different rendering of the verse.

The Mauryas kept the industry a state monopoly and expert builders were maintained as state servants not allowed to take private orders (Str. XV. i. 46).

The vessels were sufficiently big and strong to carry a heavy cargo. Guha's flotilla carried besides men, chariots, horses, bulls and carts although elephants
Tonnage. had to be swam across. The fleet supplied to Alexander by the ship-builders on the Hydaspes whose strength is computed differently by the Greek writers between 800 and 2,000, accommodated 8,000 troops, several thousand horses and vast quantities of supplies. The ship which took prince Vijaya to Ceylon had 800 passengers according to the Mahāvamso (Turnour's, 51). The fresco presentation at Ajantā of his landing shews horses and elephants carried in these boats. In the Jātakas the tonnage is given at 500 (II. 128) and 1,000 (IV. 159) passengers, or 7 caravans with beasts (VI. 30 ff). In the Sāmpkha Jātaka a rescue vessel at sea measures 8 *usabha* × 4 *usabha* × 20 *yatthika*.¹ According to Pliny the tonnage is 3,000 *amphorae* (cub. ft. of water) or 75 tons.

There were big ship-owners who kept their vessels at ports and took merchants with their wares to their destination charging a freight for the transit
Freight. (yathā.....sadbano nāviko paṭṭane suṭṭhu katasumko mahāsamuddaṃ pavisittā, Mil. 359). Manu lays down the freight charges along rivers but says that there is no settled rate for the seas (VIII. 406) showing that here also free bargain reigned supreme and that regulation was futile. Sometimes there were joint owners resembling a shipping agency, and Manu lays a law that they are collectively responsible for the damage caused by their fault to passengers' goods (VIII. 408 f.). In the Arthaśāstra as well, which provides for the hiring

¹ Nothing is known of these linear measures.



out of state vessels to merchants and to fishers of pearls and conch-shells, there is a similar law that hire charges are to be remitted and losses made good if the ship foundered from their own defect (II. 28).¹ According to Megasthenes the Maurya admiralty let out its ships on hire to professional merchants (Str. XV. i. 46) bringing a lucrative income to the treasury above the regular port dues and customs duties.

There were expert professional pilots who lent themselves for hire to shippers or to merchants. In the great seaport

Crews and pilots.

towns were organised guilds or crews under a shipper (niyyāmakajetṭhaka) who took charge of vessels at the requisition of sea-going traders and plied their calling from father to son (Jāt. IV. 137).

It is not known whether the ancient pilots were acquainted with the mariner's compass. The Pali word 'maccha-

yantra' has been supposed to be for that instrument and a round device at the prow of a ship in

The compass and the crow.

a Borobudur sculpture has been identified to it. For ascertaining directions the

mariners observed the stars at night. They took direction-giving crows (disākāka) on board, and like the ancient Phœnicians and Babylonians, let them off when they lost sight of land. The coast was found in the direction taken by the bird (Jāt. III. 267). That this practice was devised from very early times is apparent from the passage of the Rg-veda, I:— "Varuṇa, who knows the path of the birds flying through the air he, abiding in the ocean knows also the course of the ships." This is referred to as a very ancient practice in a well-drawn parable:

"Long long ago, sea-faring traders were wont when they were setting sail on an ocean voyage, to take with them a

¹ It is wrong to call it a law of marine insurance since reparation does not cover damage due to accident.

land-sighting bird. And when the ship got out of sight of the shore they would let the land-sighting bird free (*tira-dassim sakenam*). Such a bird would fly to the East, and to the South and to the West and to the North, to the Zenith and to the intermediate points of the compass (*anudisam*). And if anywhere on the horizon it caught sight of land, thither would it fly. But if no land, all round about, were visible, it would come back even to the ship." (Dn. XI. 85; An. III. 367).

Pliny testifies to the prevalence of the custom in the South. "In making sea-voyages the Taprobane mariners make no observation of the stars and indeed the Greater Bear is not visible to them, but they take birds out to sea with them which they let loose from time to time and follow the direction of their flight as they make for land." (VI. 22).

Ships set sail from the *paṭṭana* or *paṭṭanagāma*, generally a sea-port but sometimes also a river port having direct access to sea. The Malabar and the Koromandel coasts were dotted with such sea-ports catalogued with their busy traffic in the *Periplus* (51ff). In the north, the most flourishing sea-port was *Bhārukaccha* "in the kindom of Bhāru" (Jāt. IV. 137) on the estuary of the *Narmadā*. A little south of it was *Sūrpāraka* "formed by the ocean in the south" at *Kaśyapa's* command to accommodate *Paraśurāma* after he had exterminated the *Kṣatriyas* (Mbh. XII. 49. 67). A third north-western sea-port figures large in the *Periplus* named *Barbaricum* at the mouth of the *Indus*. More ancient than these was *Roruka*, later known as *Roruva*, the capital of *Sovīra* (Jāt. III. 470; Dn. II. 235; Div. p. 544). Its exact location is not known but must have been somewhere on the Gulf of Cutch.¹ The *Jātakas* mention another

¹ Cunningham, however, identifies this with Alor in Sind.

western port named Karambiya (V. 75) about which no further information is available. What Bhārūkaccha was in the West, Tāmralipti was in the East. It commanded the mouth of the Ganges and from there the eastern sea-borne trade of the rich *janapadas* on the valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna. There must have been other prosperous sea-ports on the delta of the Ganges and the Mahanadi serving as the outlets for the specialised industries of Bengal and Orissa. But the overseas trade beyond Tāmralipti both to the East and to the South is a sealed book to us.

About the beginning of the Christian era Indian shipping was sufficiently expanded to reach all the known ranges of the commercial world. The *Periplus* is an eloquent testimony to the far-reaching western trade¹; China and its silk begins to be prominent in Indian literature from this time and the *Milindapañho*, a contemporary work, avers that the ship-owner getting rich with freights paid in a sea-port, embarks in the high seas and sails to Bengal, Malay, China, Gujarat, Kathiawad, Alexandria, Koromandel coast and the East Indies or to any other place where the ships congregate.

‘sadhano nāviko paṭṭane sutṭhu katasumko mahā-samuddaṃ pavisitvā Vangaṃ Takkolaṃ Cīnaṃ Soviraṃ Suratṭhaṃ Alasandaṃ Kolapaṭṭanaṃ Suvannabhūmiṃ gacchati aññaṃ pi yaṃ kiñci nāvāsañcaraṇaṃ’—359.

The earliest trade communication in the west was with Mesopotamia. Keneddy makes out the case for Babylonian

¹ “.....in the age of the *Periplus*, the merchants of the country round Barygaza traded to Arabia for gums and incense, to the coast of Africa for gold, and to Malabar and Ceylon for pepper and cinnamon and thus completed the navigation of the entire Indian ocean.” Vincent : *Commerce of the Ancients*, Vol. II, p. 401.

commerce from Bhārukaccha and Sūrpāraka at the latest.

Mesopotamia. before the 7th century B. C.¹ Connecting the sea-voyage references in the Rg-veda with the appearance of the word *sindhu* for muslin in a Babylonian list of clothes, Sayce establishes this trade with the Indus valley as early as 3,000 B. C.² Later on, this trade diverted mainly to the Dravidians since the Indian names naturalised in the west were Tamil—not Sanskrit or Pali. The Mesopotamian trade is directly referred to in a Jātaka story where traders from India dispose of a crow and other wares after strenuous higgling (III. 126 f.). Elsewhere the name of Baveru or Babylon is conventionally thrown in into tales of shipwreck without any particulars. Evidently the sea-route to the Euphrates was still too strenuous to afford regular communication.

Indo-Mesopotamian commerce had three routes,—a sea-route along the coasts of Sind, Gedrosia and Iran, another a mixed water and land-route from Euphrates route : Gandhāra and Bactria along the Oxus and Iran. across the Caspian and the Black seas and a third overland route from Sind through Iran. Iran was thus the highway of Indo-Babylonian trade—the sea-route passing through its territorial waters, the land-route through its soil. It figures in India's commercial horizon from much earlier times than the 7th century B. C. A route across the high seas between India and its coasts is supposed to have existed in the days of Buddha from the Chinese legend embodied in the Dīpavaṃsa relating the founding of a colony from Ceylon on the Persian Gulf. Through the eastern campaigns of Cyrus (558-30 B. C.) the Medo-Persian kingdom was brought into more or less direct contact with India. Probably the Indus valley had a favourable balance

¹ Early Commerce between India and Babylon, J.R.A.S., 1898.

² Hibbert Lectures.

of trade in the 5th century B. C. with Persia and other countries so as to enable it to pay Darius every year 360 Euboic talents of gold dust working out to 9 tons and 5 cwts.

In the days of the Periplus coastal voyage from Broach to the Euphrates was a regular affair of merchants. To the ports of the Persian Gulf, *viz.*, Apologus and Ommana "large vessels are regularly sent from Barygaza loaded with copper and sandalwood and timbers of teakwood and logs of blackwood and ebony." From these ports "there are exported to Barygaza and also to Arabia, many pearls, but inferior to those of India;¹ purple,² clothing after the fashion of the place, wine,³ a great quantity of dates, gold and slaves." The trade which at present centres at Bahrein has almost the same list of imports and exports.

As the approach to the Euphrates lay through Persian waters, so the way to the Nile and the Nile route : Arabia. Mediterranean led through the Arabian. Agatharcides (177 B.C.) quoted by Greek writers, describes Sabaea (Yemen) as holding the monopoly of the Indian trade. From the great marts of Muza (Mokha), Cana (Bir Ali) and Moscha (2 mi. east of Taka) on the southern coast, Arab ship-owners and sea-farers traded with the Somali coast and with Barygaza "sending their own ships there" in competition with the Egyptian Greeks (Peri. 21, 27). They brought from Damirica and Barygaza cloth, wheat and sesame oil and if the season was late they wintered at the harbour of Moscha exchanging those Indian goods for frankincense "which lies in heaps all over the Sakhalitic

¹ "This is said still to be the case, the Bahrein pearls being of a yellower tint than those of the Manaar fisheries, but holding their lustre better, particularly in tropical climates, and therefore always in demand in India." Schoff.

² A dye extracted from various species of fishes. Schoff.

³ Date wine and grape wine. Schoff.

country" (32). An important halting place between India and Arabia was Dioscorida or Socotra, the island of all races and the centre of international trade not far from the time of Abraham. Egyptians, Arabians, Africans and Indians from the gulfs of Cutch and Cambay met here to exchange their cargo and settle colonies so that at the time of the Periplus the inhabitants were a "mixture of Arabs and Indians and Greeks." The voyagers from Damirica and Barygaza "bring in rice and wheat and Indian cloth, and a few female slaves; and they take for their exchange cargoes a great quantity of tortoise-shell" (30, 31).¹

Beyond Socotra and Arabia, the Mediterranean route passed along the Somali and Berber coasts. In the Periplus Malao (the Berber country) is described as a great intermediary mart between India and Egypt. ".....From the district of Ariaca across the sea, there are imported Indian iron and steel, and Indian cotton cloth; the broad cloth called *monakhé* and that called *sagmatogéné*, and girdles, and coats of skin and mallow-coloured cloth; and a few muslins and coloured lac" (6). Other imports were Indian copal² and macir³ (8). "And ships are also customarily fitted out from the places across this sea, from Ariaca and Barygaza, bringing to these far-side market-towns the products of their own places; wheat, rice, clarified butter, sesame oil, cotton cloth and girdles, and honey from the reed called *sakkhari*. Some make the voyage especially to these market towns, and others exchange their cargoes while sailing along the coast." (14).

¹ Dioscorida is a corruption from the Sanskrit 'Dwīpa Sukhādihāra' — 'the island abode of bliss.' For further associations of the island with India and survivals of Indian influences see Schoff, pp. 133 ff.

Kankamon. Pliny says it is a dye, Dioscorides an exudation used as incense.

³ An aromatic and medicinal bark.



“The important thing to be noted here is that these agricultural products were regularly shipped, in Indian vessels, from the Gulf of Cambay; that these vessels exchanged their cargoes at Cape Guardafui and proceeded along the coast, some southward, but most westward; and that according to 25, Ocelis, at the entrance to the Red Sea was their terminus, the Arabs forbidding them to trade beyond. Between India and Cape Guardafui they apparently enjoyed the bulk of the trade, shared to some extent by Arabian shipping and quite recently by Greek ships from Egypt; on the Somali coast they shared the trade in an incidental way; and they received their return cargoes at Ocelis and shared none of the Red Sea trade, which in former times the Arabs of Yemen had monopolised, but in the days of the Ptolemies the Egyptians had largely taken over.”¹

After Zanzibar the next objective was Egypt. Strabo quotes the story of Posidonios how a certain Indian alone in a ship, picked up by the coast guard of the Arabian Gulf, related that he had started from the coast of India but lost his course and reached Egypt alone, all the companions having perished with hunger. Thereafter he headed a trading mission sent by the Egyptian prince Euergetes II to India “with a good supply of presents, and brought back with him in exchange aromatics and precious stones, some of which the Indians collect from amongst the pebbles of the river, others they dig out of the earth, where they have been formed by the moisture, as crystals are formed with us.” On the return journey of a second voyage he was again carried away by the winds above Ethiopia and thrown in unknown regions (II. iii. 4).

¹ Schoff.

It appears that a voyage between India and Egypt was a risky affair and very rarely undertaken. In Strabo's day Rome had explored the world of Arabian and Indian commerce. "The entrance of a Roman army into Arabia Felix under the command of my friend and companion Aelius Gallus and the traffic of the Alexandrian merchants whose vessels pass up the Nile and the Arabian Gulf to India have rendered us much better acquainted with these countries than our predecessors were..... I found that about 120 ships sail from Myos Hormos to India, although in the time of the Ptolemies scarcely any one would venture on this voyage and the commerce with the Indies." (II. v. 12). The route of the Alexandrian commerce in his day is also given. "It (merchandise) is brought down from Arabia and India to Myos Hormos, it is then conveyed on camels to Coptus of the Thebais, situated on a canal of the Nile and to Alexandria" (XVI. iv. 24).

Combining the testimony of Strabo and the Periplus the Indo-Egyptian route appears to be from Alexandria along the Nile up to Coptus, thence by camel to Myos Hormos, the cluster of islands now Jifātin. From Myos Hormos or Berenice the ships sailed down the Red Sea to Mouza and thence to the watering place of Okelis at the Straits. They made a coastal voyage as far as Cana leaving behind Eudaimon or Aden. From Cana some ships sailed to Barbaricum or to Barygaza, sometimes halting at the island of Dioscorida or Socotra, others sailed direct for the ports of Limyrike (Malabar Coast). From Aromata or Cape Guardafui another route led straight to Malabar. Pliny describes how the Indian route was shortened by successive discoveries through the love of gain, so that "at the present day voyages are made to India every year" (VI. 23). The last and the most

important of the series was the discovery of the monsoon ascribed to Hippalus (Peri. 57).

But he did a still greater thing, *viz.*, freeing the Roman Empire from Arabian monopoly of the Eastern trade by tracing it to its source. Arab-Roman rivalry. The commercial bond between India and Arabia which had lasted at least for 2,000 years and probably much longer was beginning to break under the impact of Rome. With the conquest of Egypt and the establishment of the Axumite Kingdom, the Ptolemies systematically pursued the policy of cultivating direct communication with India and freeing Egypt from commercial dependence on Yemen. There are significant facts bearing testimony to this change. The survival of Arabian control is noticed in the Roman knowledge of cinnamon bark as a product of Somaliland, an Arabian tributary. But cinnamon leaf which was brought later into commerce was known (malabathrum, 56, 65) as an Indian and Tibetan product. The 'small vessels' from Mouza to the Nabataean port (19) may be contrasted with the large vessels (10) that traded from Mosyllium to Egypt. Yemen was still wooed with gifts and embassies by Rome (23) but the policy of appeasement was soon abandoned. "It was no part of the Arab policy, whether Homerite, Minaean or Nabataean to let Rome cultivate direct relations with India, and as the Empire expanded stronger measures were necessary. Fifty years later than the Periplus, Trajan had captured Petra, and Abyssinia was being subsidised to attack Yemen."¹

Pliny in whose time Indian Trade was at its highest mentions several Indian imports very often stated with the price at which they were sold at Rome. These may be collected in the following list.

Roman trade : Ex-
ports to Rome.

¹ Scheff.

Exports to Rome	Value	Reference
<i>Silk</i> —Chinese and Indian. It became a craze with society girls and was too fine to keep their modesty	Worth weight in gold	XI. 26; XXI. 8
<i>Pepper</i> —	6 dinarii per lb.	"
<i>Long pepper</i> (adulterated with mustard)	15 "	"
<i>White pepper</i> ...	7 "	"
" Both pepper and ginger grow wild in their respective countries and here we buy them by weight like gold and silver "	...	XII. 8
<i>Lycium</i> ...	...	"
<i>Macir</i> ...	...	"
<i>Sugar</i> —more esteemed than the Arabian product ...	...	"
<i>Ebony</i> —two varieties, one ordinary, one precious. Imported after the Asiatic conquests of Pompey the Great. Egypt was a competitor	...	XII. 8, 9; cf. Virgil: Georgics, II. 116f.
<i>Bdellium</i> —Arabia, Media and Babylon were competitors ...	3 dinarii per lb.	XII. 9
<i>Costus</i> ...	5 "	XII. 12
<i>Nard</i> ...	100 "	"
<i>Amomum grape</i> ...	60 "	"
<i>Crumbled grape</i> ...	49 "	"
<i>Cardamum</i> —a medical herb ...	3 "	"
<i>Scented Calamus</i> —not properly identified by naturalists. Arabia and Syria were competitors ...	...	XII. 22
<i>Indigo</i> —a recent import ...	17 "	XXXIII. 4; XXXV. 6
<i>Crystals</i> —the Indian kind is best in the East ...	...	XXXVII. 10
<i>Amber, diamond, beryl</i> —highly prized among Indians ...	...	"
<i>Opal</i> —India had a monopoly ...	...	"
<i>Sardonyx, onyx of inferior varieties</i> ...	...	"
<i>Carbuncle</i> —Carthage was a competitor ...	...	"
<i>Sandastros</i> —Arabia was a competitor ...	...	"
<i>Callaina, jasper, amethyst, pæderos, obsidian, zoronisceos</i> ..	...	"
" Thus completing her glory as being the great producer of the most costly gems " (XXXVII. 10) and being " of all countries the most prolific of them " (XXXVII. 13).		

The list is not exhaustive. In the *Periplus* the exports from Barbaricum—most of which found their way to Rome are costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli, seric skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn and indigo (39). From Barygaza were sent across spikenard from the Ganges, costus, bdellium, ivory, agate and carnelian, pebbles, lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds—the *monakhe* and the *sagmatogene*,

silk cloth, mallow cloth—a coarse fabric, yarn, long pepper “and such other things as are brought here from the various market towns” (49). Besides this there was the rich export trade of the Tamil ports (51 ff). Among the imports of Barbaricum were “a great deal of thin clothing, and a little spurious,” figured linens (polymita)

Imports. of Egypt and Babylon, topaz of the Red

Sea island from Egypt, the red coral of the western Mediterranean—one of the principal assets of the Roman Empire in its eastern trade, storax, frankincense from Arabia, vessels of glass, silver and gold plate and a little wine. Into Barygaza were brought wine, Italian preferred, also Laodicean and Arabian; copper, tin and lead—largely for Saka coinage; coral and topaz; thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds; bright-coloured girdles a cubit wide;¹ storax; sweet clover—used for making chaplets, perfumes and medicine; flint glass; realgar (sandarake);² antimony; gold and silver coin, “on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country”;³ and ointment, but not very costly and not much. And for the king there were brought into those places very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weaves and the choicest ointments. Thus Indian imports consisted chiefly of tin, lead, glass, amber, steel, coral, coarse clothing, topaz and storax and frankincense

from Arabia while her exports were iron, skins, wheat, rice, butter, oil, sugar, silk and muslin, wool and furs, wood, tortoise shell, pearls, large variety of drugs, dyes, aromatics,

Balance of Indo-Roman trade.

¹ Probably for the Bhils who worked the carnelian mines then as now. Schoff.

² Red sulphide of arsenic, used for medicine.

³ “The profit on the exchange was due to the superiority of the Roman coinage to that of India, which latter was still crude, of base metal (bronze or lead), for which even the bullion (copper, tin and lead) was imported.” Schoff.

edible spices and precious stones. The balance of trade was completely in India's favour. In vain Pliny raised his voice against the heavy exploitation of his country's wealth: "At the very lowest computation, India, the Seres and the Arabian peninsula drained from our empire yearly 100 million sesterces,¹ so dearly we pay for our luxury and our women (XII. 18).

To make a brief *resumé* of the history of the Indo-Roman trade. Prior to Emperor Augustus the western trade was carried on mainly by way of Egypt through the ports of Berenica and Myos Hormos to Alexandria. The bulk of this trade took the sea-route. The trade was at its highest between Augustus and Nero in the first century A.D.—stimulated by the discovery of the monsoons. Spices and perfumes, pearls and precious stones, silks and muslins were the favourite Indian wares in Roman market. The chief of these exports were spices and precious stones as appears not only from Pliny but also from the discovery of Roman coins from the sources of supply of these commodities.¹ Between Nero and Caracalla (217 A.D.) there was a lapse. Instead of luxuries there was a limited trade in necessities such as cotton fabrics and the trade was mainly with the north where Roman coins of this period have been found.² This decline coincides with a reaction in Rome to plebian habits against the luxury and dissipation of the higher classes,—the case for which Pliny advocated so strongly.

The fact of the southern and eastern trade does not appear with so much glamour and detail. The objectives of southern trade were the Southern Ceylon and Tamil countries. The Tamil countries and Ceylon carried from Bhārukaccha and Sūrparaka in the west and from Tāmralipti

¹ Equivalent to £ 70,000.

² See Sewell : *Roman Coins Found in India*, J.R.A.S., 1904 pp. 591ff.

and the ports of Bengal and Kalinga in the east. The exploration of the island of Ceylon and its conquest is ascribed to prince Vijaya from Bengal on the very day when Buddha attained *nirvāṇa*.¹ In the Jātakas Ceylon is known as the *nāga* island, *i.e.*, the island inhabited by people called the *nāgas* or dragons. It lay on the route from Bhārukaccha to the East Indies (III. 188). Mariners from Benares, plying down the Ganges, sail and touch at this island (*ibid*). The Tamil countries were reached both by land and by sea. On the way from the northwest coast to the East Indies was Manimekhalā² the divine name of Tamil, famous in the north for its efficient shipping. In stories of shipwreck of northern voyagers, the divinity comes to rescue with magic ships of titanic size (8 *usabha* × 4 *usabha* × 20 *yatthika*) with three masts and bedecked all over with sapphire, gold and silver (IV. 15ff. VI. 35). The tradition at least shows that the southerners were more expert sea-farers and their ships were more seaworthy and of larger size. The Periplus also testifies that the Colas and the Pāṇḍyas sent their wares to the Ganges in large ships called Colandia. Their ports were visited in turn by ships "from the north"—evidently from the Ganges and Bengal. From Tamil literary evidence (Paddi-nappalai, 1- 0) it appears that from the North were exported to the Cola market of Kāveripāddinam, horses,—sent from Sind and the Punjab, gold and precious stones from the northern mountains, and coral from the eastern seas.

The main outlet of northern merchandise for the South and the East was Tāmralipti (Tamluk).
Burma and Indonesia. Some of its wares were even shipped to the West. "Through this place are brought mala-

¹ The story of the Ceylonese chronicles is half mythic and half historical and the date is absolutely unreliable. All that we may conjecture is that it is a pre-Maurya episode.

² See Krishnaswami Aiyangar : *Manimekhala in its Historical Setting*.

bathrum (from the eastern Himalayas), Gangetic spikenard (the true spikenard from the Himalayas) and pearls, and muslins of the finest sorts, which are called Gangetic" (Peri. 63). It was the nearest seaport for approaching Pegu, Malay, Sumatra, Java, Cambodia and even China and Japan by sea. In the Jātakas, Suvannabhūmi—a generic name for the East Indian islands, is the regular field of mercantile adventure. Unlike the traders of the Gulf of Cambay who dealt with the Western world, the mariners of Andhra, Kalinga and Bengal did not rest with sending their cargo to the markets of Indonesia. They made bold enough to embark across the seas and colonise *en masse*. Traces of their adventure survive in the remnants of Indian civilisation widely scattered over Burma, Malaya, Sumatra, Java and Cambodia—the farthest outpost of ancient Indian culture. The history of these momentous maritime exploits—full of life and vigour, and eloquent of strong socio-economic forces let loose in the mother-country, is entirely a lost story—lost like the great sand-buried cities of Khotan.

History of foreign trade : The Mauryas. In the third century before Christ, the Maurya Empire stands among an international family with Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epirus, cultivating diplomatic relations and sending missionaries to preach the gospel of Dhamma (R.Es. II, XIII). Centuries of international trade had built up the highway for this political and religious intercourse. The influx of foreigners in the metropolis was so great at the time of Megasthenes that the municipal board had to set apart a committee to take care of them. The generals in the company of the Macedonian conqueror were struck by the din of the great dockyards of the Punjab tribes. The Mauryas were astute enough to monopolise this industry and maintain a strong admiralty employing its fleet both for naval and commercial purposes.

The Sātavāhanas who were in possession of the western ports of Bhārukaccha and Sorpārāga and who equipped them with quadrangular rest houses (catusālāvasadhapratiśrayapradena, Nasik C. I. 10. iv) must have pursued a vigorous commercial policy. The Kanheri Caves executed in their time contain sculptural representations of voyages through sea. They maintained a regular service of pilotage in the rough waters of Cambay (Peri. 44-46). The Periplus gives a passing glimpse into how great a part this commercial interest played in the affairs of state. Sandares,¹ who ruled over the prosperous trading communities of the western sea-board took possession of Kalliena (Kalyāṇa) formerly belonging to the House of Sarganes the Elder (Śātakarṇi), subjected its trade to the severest restrictions, so that if Greek vessels entered its port even accidentally, they were seized and sent under escort to Barygaza—evidently the seat of paramount power (52). Presumably it was an attempt to divert the overseas trade of Kalyāṇa and centralise it at Bhārukaccha.

The Andhras were veteran sea-farers pursuing their trade from the eastern coast. Even their coins belonging to the second and the third centuries A.D. bear the device of ships “full-rigged for distant seas.” The Colas, the Kalingas and the people of Vanga, Puṇḍra and Samatāṭa were their rivals in eastern trade. The kings of Vanga had powerful naval forces and are said in Kālidāsa’s Raghuvamśa to be trusting in their ships.

Under Kaniṣka, when the Kuṣāṇa and the Roman empires marched almost contiguous, Roman trade was at its highest. References to Romaka in the Mahābhārata and in the astronomical *siddhāntas* originate from this period. Rome was alive to the import-

The Andhras, Kalingas and Vangas.

The Kuṣāṇas.

¹ *Sādhana*—says Lassen.

ance of Yueh-Chi alliance against the Parthians and Sassanians and as controller of the great overland trade-route through Afghanistan between the East and the West. "How close was the friendship is shown in A.D. 60 by the Roman general Corbulo escorting the Hyrcanian ambassadors up the Indus and through the territories of the Kushans or Indo-Scythians on their return from their embassy to Rome."¹

Yet the sea was full of danger (samuddo anekādīnavo) and it was love of gain that inspired man to defy them. In a mother's estimation as regards her son intent on a voyage, these risks far outweighed the expected returns (Jāt. IV. 2). Shipwreck is a common catastrophe in the Jātakas (II. 103; III. 26; V. 75). The vagaries of the weather and of the waves were not sufficiently explored. Shipwreck is often due to planks giving way (Jāt. VI. 34; bhinna-naukānivārṇave, Mbh. VIII. 2. 20) caused by cataracts or tidal bores or by running a hidden rock or coming in the field of a magnetic rock,² as for example the Maināk which earned a notoriety in the Epics for its heavy toll of merchant men. When dangers go out of control, men fall into myths. Accordingly the sea, due to insufficient acquaintance, became associated with mythical horrors and for their counterpart, with mythical charms. It is infested with goblins and monsters and *nāgas* devouring shipwrecked persons and it abounds with gold, diamond and nectar, the very elixir of life (Jāt. II. 127 ff.; III. 345; IV. 139 ff.; Mbh. I. 20-22).

¹ R. K. Mukherji, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

² This possibly is the reason why cane-fibres instead of iron strips were used to join the planks; An. IV. 127. Hare renders 'vettabandhanabaddhāya' as 'rigged with masts and stays.' The explanation of Buddhagosa does not allow this rendering.

Even in the days of the Arthaśāstra ocean traffic was far more dangerous than land traffic (II. 16 and Com.). And these dangers were not all imaginary. The Periplus gives a realistic insight into them. The gulfs of Cutch and Cambay were great danger zones. "Those who are drawn into the Gulf of Baraka (Dwārakā) are lost; for the waves are high and very violent, and the sea is tumultuous and foul, and has eddies and rushing whirlpools. The bottom is in some places abrupt, and in others rocky and sharp, so that the anchors lying there are parted, some being quickly cut off, and others chafing on the bottom" (40).

The Gulfs of Cutch and Cambay.

A glimmering glimpse is obtained why the ancient seaport of Rorua goes out of the picture and Barbaricum, farther west and north, comes as a parvenu.

Due to the extreme intensity of ebb and flow in the Narmadā, entrance and exit of vessels in Bhārukaccha were very dangerous to the inexperienced. The Periplus vividly describes the vagaries of the tidal bore (45 f.). Because of the difficulty of navigating in the Gulf of Cambay and the mouth of Narmadā, the state maintained a regular service of pilotage, under which incoming vessels were met at least 100 miles down from the port. "Native fishermen in the king's service, stationed at the very entrance in well-manned large boats..... go up the coast as far as Syrastrène, from which they pilot vessels to Barygaza. And they steer them straight from the mouth of the Bay between the shoals with their crews; and they tow them to fixed stations, going up with the beginning of flood, and lying through the ebb at anchorages and in basins. These basins are deeper places as far as Barygaza, which lies by the river about 300 stadia up from the mouth" (44).

The coastal route of Arabia was discarded as unsafe (20). The story of Posidonios repeated by Strabo is another concrete instance of the perilous nature of a long sea voyage.

Not all the perils came from nature. The arch-peril of maritime commerce was piracy. The myths of man-eating sea-monsters in the Jātakas may be traced to this source. For the name of *nāga* applies to both a pirate and a monster. According to the Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra, these *nāga* pirates were active in the Eastern waters in the days of Aśoka. Traders waited upon the Emperor and complained that all their ships and treasures were plundered by these people and that if the conditions ran as they were, they would change their pursuits resulting in fall of revenue (Bodh. Kalp., Pall. 73).

The worst piratical rendezvous in the Indian ocean was the Konkan coast, entrenched in its numerous creeks and bays which afforded safe harbourage to their cruisers. They fed upon the richly freighted merchantmen that frequented this place. According to Ptolemy the Pirate Coast extended from the neighbourhood of Simylla (Chaul, 23 mi. S. of Bombay) to Nitra (Mangalor) (1. 7). The Periplus (53) and Pliny refer to the pirates who infested this place and the latter adds that merchant vessels from Egyptian ports carried as a precaution companies of archers on board. In Ptolemy's time these pirates felt the strong hand of the state. The father of the Red Chera destroyed "Kadambu of the sea coast" and thus the coast was freed from their depredations between 80 and 222 A.D. But Arab-Berber predators still dominated African and Arabian coasts, "men of piratical habits, very great in stature and under separate chiefs for each place" (Peri. 16, 20). Such was the nuisance and havoc they created, that the author of the Arthaśāstra has to enjoin that pirate ships (*himsrikā*) are to be destroyed at sight (II. 28).

So the vision dawns before our eyes of ancient Indian mariners even from the Vedic times braving unknown perils across fathomless depths and under limitless skies. The Indian teak excavated at Ur

Piracy.

Konkan coast.

The urge for gain.

in Sumer, the Indian frescoes worked at Borobudur in Java, the Indian inscription at the Horiuzi temple in Japan give an inkling of the magnitude and duration of their exploits.¹ As the roads between Puṣkalāvātī and Tāmralipti hummed with cracking wheels, the roaring waves of the Indian ocean were broken by the rythmic splashes of oars, the very emblems of patient and persevering search for gain gingered up by an unconquerable spirit of adventure. We feel our sojourn in a world of reality, a material world of the stock and the bourse where *artha* fulfils its great destiny in human life—where empires come to measure arms to secure commercial advantage, where overseas trade paves the path for conquests of Dhamma and conquests of arms, where the merchant, the missionary and the military march one after another in an automatic cycle,—all originating from the much derided mercantile gospel ‘yathārtham labhate dhanaṃ’—‘profit according to investment.’

¹ Compare the present deterioration in Indian shipping. The share of Indian companies is 13 p. c. of coastal traffic and 2 p.c. of ocean-borne trade of India while formerly, both were entirely Indian.

CHAPTER VI

STATE LEVIES AND STATE CONTROL ON COMMERCE

Intervention of State. Taxation of commerce.

Practice : the *śulka* ; protection ; moderation ; reduction and remission ; assignment of toll receipts, subsidy and loan. Realisation of toll, suppression of smuggling. State monopolies. Control by the Sakas, protection. Control by the Mauryas, rigorous and drastic.

Theory : principles of assessment. The *sannidhātṛ*. Encouragement of import. The charges. The *śulka* or toll rates. The *dvāradēya* or gate due. The *varttānī* or road cess. Realisation of dues and suppression of smuggling. The *praṇaya*, or benevolence. The *rājakariya* or forced labour. Port dues. Monopolies. Price-fixing. Control of buying and selling. From free to regulated economy.

As trade and commerce expanded and became the strongest economic factor in urban life it called forth in an increasing measure the intervention of the state. Its first concern was of course to derive a revenue from the new income ; its next, to monopolise those trades and industries which yielded best profits or which affected vital interests of state. The exercise of these very rights drew it into further and further interference. The evils of competition, unfair dealings, deception of customers, smuggling and deleterious machinations of big business all combined to intensify the anarchy in the commercial world. The state was faced with the growing problems of restoring order. For on the stability of the market depended the stability of its finance.

Assessment of commercial wealth was run on the same lines as assessment of agricultural produce.

Revenue from the new income.

It was the same principles of taxation applied to the different *vārttās*. The same social contract of protection and payment between the sovereign and the subjects is the theoretical basis of

- both the systems. The same moderation in assessment and realisation of revenue is the prescribed canon in both. The state had its own commercial concerns as it had its agricultural land and cattle. Toll dues were occasionally remitted and sometimes transferred as in the case of land revenue. Lastly the doctrine of emergency was a convenient tool in the hand of the state for the best use and worst abuse.

As the *bhāga* was the customary revenue on land, the *śulka* was the toll on merchandise levied for the protection it received from the state (Mbh. XII. 71. 10).¹ Among the *vauntings* of a king how he stands above his kin is "You know Uposatha, merchants coming from many a realm prosper here and I look to their welfare and protection."

atho pi vaṇijā phītā nānāraṭṭhāto āgatā
tese me vihitā rakkā evaṃ jānāha Uposathā'ti.

Jāt. IV. 135.

In a kingless country, merchants from afar with a varied cargo cannot safely cross the roads.

na-arājake janapade vaṇijo dūragāmināḥ
gacchanti kṣemamaddhvānaṃ bahupaṇyasamacitāḥ.

Rām. II. 67. 11.

From Nārada's admonition to Yudhiṣṭhira it would seem that the king was not only to treat merchants with consideration in his capital and kingdom but also see that buyers or his officers in the zeal to encourage import did not tempt merchants with high hopes or false pretexts to bring their goods (Mbh. II. 5. 115).

¹ In the Rg-veda *śulka* means price. Muir traces the sense of tax in a passage in the Atharva Veda, III. 29. 3. See Macdonell & Keith : *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 387.

Protection and encouragement of commerce meant that taxation did not fall heavy on dealings of exchange. Moderation is the keynote of Indian financial speculation. "Let him not cut up his own root (by levying no taxes) nor the root of other (men) by excessive greed; for by cutting up his own root (or theirs) he makes himself or them wretched" (Manu, VII. 139). "Let him also lay just duties on other marketable goods according to their intrinsic value without oppressing the traders" (anupahatya, Baudh. I. 10. 18. 15). An admonition in the Jātaka elaborated in the commentary shows how the king's exchequer fails as a result of excessive taxation of citizens engaged in buying and selling transactions (ye yuttā kayavikkaye, V. 243). Nārada warns Yudhiṣṭhira that it should be his anxious care to see that only such dues as prescribed in the canon (yathoktam) and no arbitrary imports are realised from the merchants who come to his territories from distant lands impelled by the desire of gain (Mbh. II. 5. 114).

Moderation sometimes urged reduction or complete remission of tolls and duties. The birth of an heir to the throne was a suitable occasion for such a gesture. On the occasion of Mahāvīra's birth prince Siddhārtha released customs, taxes, confiscations and fines (Jaina Kalpasutra, 102). Rare products useful for the interests of state might be freed from duties to encourage their import. Kosmas writes from the sixth century that the king of Sielediba (?) imported his horses from Persia and the traders supplying were exempt from customs dues. Toll receipts might be transferred like any other revenue. The king might make a bequest of them to whoever might please his fancy (Jāt. VI. 347).¹ Or

¹ The Inscription of Dhavala of Hastikunḍi at Bijapur assigns $\frac{2}{3}$ of the toll proceeds to Jina and $\frac{1}{3}$ to a temple guru. Verse 17.

sometimes the king might choose to pay his officers by the assignment of the receipts as would appear from Nārada's speech (yathoktam avahāryanti śulkaṃ śulkopajīvibhiḥ).

An enlightened commercial policy did not stop at moderate assessment and remission. It sometimes encouraged trade and industry by direct subsidy. The state gave not only civil but also economic protection. Pursuant to the financial maxim that mitigation of want will increase revenue, a chaplain advises a king whose realm is harassed and harried by dacoits that taxation or punishment are not the right redress. "Whoever there be in the king's realm who devote themselves to cattle and the farm, to them let his Majesty give food and seed-corn. Whoever there be in the king's realm who devote themselves to trade, to them let his Majesty give capital. Whosoever there be in the king's realm who devote themselves to Government service (rāja-porise) to them let his Majesty give wages and food" (Dn. V. II). Peace and order depended on the prosperity and satisfaction of subjects all around and the lesson is constantly harped upon to bring round errant kings. Nārada's admonition to Yudhiṣṭhira suggests the subsidisation of merchants and craftsmen as a healthy state policy (Mbh. II. 5. 71). King Siddhārtha's concessions to his subjects on the occasion of Mahāvīra's birth included cancellation of debts implying the same benevolent practice of advancing loans to agriculture and business.

A city officer fixes the toll for merchants (vāṇijānaṃ sumkāni, Jāt. IV. 132). As regards the rates no evidence is forthcoming. The tolls were collected on incoming goods at the four gates of the city (catūsu dvāresu sumkaṃ, VI. 347) at the customs house (sumkatthāna, Vin. III. 4; Mil. 359)¹

¹ Cf. the *maṇḍapikā* or customs house in later inscriptions like the Grant of Śivaskandavarman and the Baijnath Prasasti.

attached to each gate. Collection was strict and for an attempted evasion the whole wagon was seized by the government. This is elaborated in the commentary on Buddha's parable in the Anguttara nikāya of 'the payer of taxes on merchandise' (*sumkadāyikam eva bhaṇḍasmim*, I. 53). "Just as one liable to pay duties on goods he has bought and 'smuggled through the customs' is overwhelmed by his guilty act, and it is he who is the guilty one not the Government, not the Government officials.....He who smuggles goods through the Customs House is seized, cart and all, and shown to Government..."

The most lucrative industries, those which commanded the best market abroad or those which involved the *vijāt* interests of the state, were kept under its State monopolies. monopoly. Medhātithi illustrates Manu VIII. 399 by citing saffron in Kashmir; fine cloth and wool in the East; horses in the West; precious stones and pearls in the South; and elephants everywhere. We have already seen that horses and elephants, particularly the latter, were very often royal preserves.¹ As for pearls the Periplus says that the fishery at Colchi was worked by condemned criminals and regarding Argaru "at this place and nowhere else are brought the pearls gathered on the coast thereabouts."² In the Śāntiparva (69. 29), the Arthaśāstra (II. 12) and the Karle and Nasik Inscriptions mines and salt centres appear as state monopolies. According to Pliny, from the salt-range of Ormenus between the Indus and the Hydaspes, "a greater revenue accrues to the sovereign of the country than they derive from gold and pearls" (XXXI. 7)³. The mines and fisheries were profitably worked by the state by means of free convict labour. Sometimes the state extended its

¹ See Bk. I. Ch. V.

² Cf. E. I., II. 13—Nagpur Stone Inscription.

³ Reminiscences of such monopolies are observed in the royal monopolies in manufacture or sale of salt, sugar, tobacco, matches, etc., in many of the Indian Native States.

control over the whole foreign trade and strictly regulated the distribution of imports as for example the Scythians of the west in the first century A.D. "The ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum but all their cargoes are carried up to the metropolis by the river to the king" (Peri. 39). Sandares (?) who conquered Kalyāna subjected its trade to severe restrictions and diverted the Greek trade to Bhārukaccha, his chief trade mart (52).

The Śakas not only controlled the overseas trade. They gave it necessary protection. They made Bhārukaccha a safe harbour against the extreme vagaries of the tidal bore at the estuary of the Narmadā by engaging native fishermen "in well-manned large boats" to steer safely the incoming vessels (Peri. 44-46). The kings had to protect overseas trade against the depredations of pirates a function which the father of the renowned Red Chera so eminently fulfilled by subduing the Kadambas in the Konkan coast. Aśoka could not brush aside the complaints of the eastern traders suffering under the marauding activities of the Nāgas, although his methods of redress were different.

In the empire of Candragupta, trade both internal and external, received the vigilant attention of the state and of the municipalities. Without going into details, Megasthenes gives a very precise information on the nature of municipal control. "Of the great officers of state, some have charge of the market....." and then of the municipal bodies in Palibothra, ".....The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts." The second attend to foreigners, the third register births and deaths "with the view not only of levying a tax,¹ but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of government. The fourth class superintends trade and

¹ A poll tax ?

commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. The sixth and the last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles sold. Fraud in the payment of this tax is punished with death.....In their collective capacity they have charge.....also of matters affecting the general interest, as.....the regulation of prices, the care of markets, harbours and temples " (Str.. XV. i. 50).

Thus false weights and measures were reduced, adulteration checked, prices kept in equilibrium, the underhand machinations of the black market brought under control, smuggling and evasion of king's dues¹ dealt severely. The control was no doubt rigorous and drastic; but nothing short of extreme measures could resolve the prevailing anarchy in the business world.

The Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstras dilate further the principles and rates of assessment. The *śāstra* data by themselves cannot be accepted as authoritative evidences of actual economic conditions. But they reflect the progress of financial thinking and the growing complexities and recurring crises in the market which kings were called upon to deal and on which law-givers had to formulate their views.

Theories: principles
of assessment.

" After (due) consideration the king shall always fix in his realm the duties and taxes in such a manner that both he himself and the man who does the work receive their

¹ The 'tithe' is not to be taken literally but in the more elastic sense in which it was used in the West.

due reward'' (Manu, VII. 128). The Śukranīti enjoins that a duty is levied only when the buyer or seller is a gainer (IV. ii. 218 f.). "Having well considered (the rates of) purchase and (of) sale, (the length of) the road, (the expense for) food and condiments, the charges of securing the goods, let the king make traders pay duty."

Vikrayaṃ krayaṃ adhvānaṃ bhaktaṃ ca saparicchadaṃ
Yogakṣemaṃ ca samprekṣya vaṇijāṃ kārayet karāṇ

Manu, VII. 127; Mbh. XII. 87. 13.

The tax on internal industries, the Śāntiparva continues, is fixed after taking into account the outturn, receipts and expenditures and the state of the arts—utpattiṃ dānavṛttiṃ ca śilpaṃ samprekṣya cāsakṛt.

In the Arthaśāstra the *sannidhātṛ* realises commercial dues as the *samāharatṛ* collects agricultural dues. This officer is to observe the fluctuations in demand and in the prices of internal products and foreign imports so that the scale of duties might be revised periodically. Import of foreign goods is to be encouraged. Foreign merchants coming by water or by land are to be favoured with remission of taxes so that they may keep some margin. (Parabhūmijaṃ paṇyam anugraheṇā' vahayet. Nāvika-sārthavāhebhyaśca paribāram āyatikṣamaṃ dadyāt). They cannot be sued for debts (II. 16).

These are concessions under special circumstances. The payments that a visiting merchant habitually makes are :

1. Śulka—toll or customs dues,
2. Vartanī—road cess,
3. Ativāhaka—conveyance cess,
4. Gulmadeya—levies at military stations, presumably for protection against brigandage,
5. Taradeya—ferry charges,

6. Bhakta—subsistence to the merchant and his followers,

7. Bhāga—share of profit.

—II. 16, 35

The toll covers both ingress and egress (niṣkrāmyaṃ praveśyaṃ ca śulkaṃ) of merchandise—external (bāhyam, i.e., arriving from country parts), internal (ābhyantaram) or foreign (ātithyam). The scheduled rates of import duty are :

Toll rates.

1. Common goods 1/5 of value.
2. Flower, fruit, vegetables, roots, bulbs, *pallikya* (?), seed, dried fish and dried meat 1/6 ;
3. Conch-shells, diamonds, jewels, pearls, to be fixed by corals and necklaces experts acquainted with time, cost and finish.
4. Fibrous garments (*kṣauma*), cotton cloths (*dukula*), silk (*krimitāna*), mail armour (*kankaṭa*), sulphuret of arsenic (*haritāla*), red arsenic (*manaśśilā*), vermillion (*hinguluka*), metals (*loha*), colouring ingredients (*varṇadhātu*), sandal, aloe (*agaru*), pungents (*kaṭuka*) ferments (*kiṇva*), dress (*āvaraṇa*), wine, ivory, skins (*ajina*), raw materials for *kṣauma* & *dukula*, carpets (*āstarāṇa*), curtains (*prāvaraṇa*), products yielded by worms (*krimijāta*) and wool of goat and ship 1/10 to 1/15 of value.
5. Cloths (*vastra*), quadrupeds, bipeds threads, cotton, scents, medicines, wood, bamboo, fibres (*valkala*), raw

- hides (carma), clay pots, grains, oil
- (sneha), soda (kṣāra), salt, liquor 1/20 to 1/25
- (madya), cooked rice of value.

The rate of 1/6 for group 2 is repeated in the Agni-purāṇa and in the Smṛtis (Gaut. X. 27; Manu, VII. 130-32; Viṣ. III. 24f.)¹ with further additions in the list, viz., medicinal herbs, honey, grass, firewood, scents, spices, leaves, skins, wickerwork, stonework clarified butter, etc. On cattle (paśu), the import duty is not 1/-0 or 1/25 but 1/50 and so also on gold (hiraṇya).² Import of gold is encouraged for obvious reasons. The standard rate on imports as well as on all sales is also much lower than 1/5. The king is to take 1/20 of the profits upon the value fixed on each saleable commodity by experts in the settlement of tolls and duties and of prices (Manu, VIII. 398; Gaut. X. 26). This of course excepting grain and applies to both Vaiśyas and Śūdras (Manu, X. 120).³ The Śukranīti gives another schedule.

Minerals: Gold, gems, glass and lead	...	1/2 of profit
Silver	...	1/3 ..
Copper	...	1/4 ..
Zinc and iron	...	1/6 ..
Grass, wood, etc.	...	1/3, 1/5, 1/7, 1/10, 1/20 of profit—IV. ii. 233-38.

Clearly the author of the Arthaśāstra, an economist statesman, is a much more rigorous protectionist than the

¹ Haradatta reads the passage in Gautama and Viṣṇu as indicating 1/60 which is improbable.

² According to the Agnipurāṇa 1/5 or 1/6. For the meaning of 'hiraṇya' see *supra*, p. 134.

³ This according to the rendering of Nārāyaṇa and Nandana. Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Kuṭlūka and Rāghavānanda give a different interpretation, viz.—on the profits of gold and cattle the king may take in necessity 1/20 instead of 1/50 if the commodity values more than 1 kārṣāpaṇa. The former is more acceptable for X. 120 and VIII. 398 both refer to all commodities except grain while VII. 130 to cattle and gold only.

law-givers of the canon. It should be observed moreover that while the assessments of the former are made on value, those of the latter are charged on profit which falls much lighter on the traders.

According to Viṣṇu the import duty is generally fixed at 10 p.c. (III. 29 ; Baudh. I. 10. 18. 14) and the export duty at 5 p.c. of the price of the articles (III. 30). The rate of duty reflects the high rate of profit derived by traders.

Within the *śulka* the Arthaśāstra includes another charge, viz., the gate dues (*dvāradeya*) which are 1/5 of toll and which may be remitted if circumstances necessitate such favour (*dvāradeyaṃ śulkapañcabhāga anugrāhikam vā yathādeśopakāraṃ sthāpayet*). Commodities shall never be sold where they are produced (II. 22).¹

The *vartanī* is realised by the *antapāla* or boundary officer. He is a police officer giving protection to caravans at the danger zones of the borders. Kautilya's teacher is very sceptic of the

Road cess.

¹ From much later inscriptions come toll-lists existing in practice and not in ideas alone.

2 *palikās* from every *ghaṭakakūpaka* of clarified butter and oil

2 *vimśopakas* per mensem for every shop

50 leaves from every *chollikā* of leaves brought from outside the town.

—Alwar, 960 A.D. (E.I., III. 36).

1 *rūpaka* for each 20 loads (*pravahana* or *potha*) carried for sale

1 *rūpaka* on each cart filled (whether going from or by the village)

1 *karṣa* for a *ghaṭā* at each oilmill

13 *chollikās* of betel leaves by the Bhaṭṭas

pellaka-pellaka (?) by the gamblers

1 *ādḥaka* of wheat and barley from each *araghaṭṭa* (well with water wheel)

5 *palas* for *peḍḍā*

1 *vimśopaka*, for each *bhāra* (2000 *palas* ?)

10 *palas* from each *bhāra* of cotton, copper, saffron, gum resin, madder, etc.

1 *māṇaka* for each *droṇa* of wheat, mung, barley, salt, *vāla* and such other measurable objects.

—Bijapur inscription of Dhavala of Hastikopḍi, vv. 8-16 ; 940 A.D.

But the list is of little use without the knowledge of the coins and measures.

veracity of this incumbent: he kills traffic by allowing thieves and taking taxes more than due. His illustrious student however holds that the officer encourages traffic by welcoming import (VIII. 4). But the suspicion is lurking; for he is to make good whatever is lost or stolen from merchants within his jurisdiction. A road cess also exists in the fiscal conception of the *Sukranīti* although it goes under the general name of *śulka* (IV. ii. 213)¹; but it is more strictly a *road cess* as opposed to a police tax. "For the preservation and repair of roads, he should have dues from those who use the streets" (258).

Realisation. "After carefully examining foreign commodities as to their superior or inferior quality and stamping them with his seal, he (the *antapāla*) shall send the same to the Superintendent of Tolls" (*vaideśyam sārtham kṛtasārāphalgubhāṇḍavicayanam-abhi-jñānam mudrām ca datvā preśayedadhyakṣasya*). At the toll-gate of the city, the merchants have to give their whereabouts, amount of cargo, etc. Twice the toll has to be paid for no seal, 8 times for counterfeit seal. For falsifying the name of merchandise (*nāmakṛte*) $1\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇas* have to be paid for each load (*sapādapaṇikam vahanam dāpayet*). Attempts at smuggling and escape of toll dues are met with heavy fines. In case of bidding the enhanced price goes to the treasury along with the toll (II. 20).

Hence commodities for sale shall not be let off without being weighed, measured or numbered (*dhṛto, mito, gaṇito vā*). Import of weapons (*śastra*), armours (*varma*), *kavaca*, *loha*, *ratha*, *ratna*, *dhānya*, and *paśu*² is forbidden and leads to forfeiture of merchandise (*ibid*).

1 "The *śulka* is levied on goods in market place, streets and mines."

2 The ban on the import of armaments and accoutrements is intelligible but not so on *loha*, *ratna*, *dhānya* and *paśu*. The first two of these even occur in the customs schedule of II. 22.

The injunction of Manu, Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya against smuggling is identical. "He who tries to avoid the toll by buying or selling at improper time (*i.e.*, at night, etc.) or by falsely enumerating his goods shall be fined eight times the amount of duty" (Manu, VIII. 400). According to Viṣṇu the evader shall lose all his goods (III. 31). The king is to confiscate the whole property of a trader who exports goods of which the king has a monopoly or the export of which is forbidden (399; Viṣ. V. 130; Yāj. II. 261). The law of forfeiture thus applies to the entrance of goods laid under a ban as well as to the exit of goods under an embargo.

The Arthaśāstra lays down that the toll of inferior commodities shall be fixed and exemptions considered by experts (II. 20). Manu lets off small dealers with some trifle to be paid annually as tax (VII. 137).

The scale of *pranaya* or benevolence levied to replenish a depleted treasury by king's officers is $\frac{1}{6}$ of cotton, lac, flax, barks, wool (rauma), silk (kauṣeya), medicines (? kauṣaya), flowers, fruits, vegetables, firewood, bamboo, flesh and dried flesh (vallura); $\frac{1}{2}$ of ivory and skin (dantājina). A license has to be obtained for sale of these articles. Internal dealers pay a fixed tax at the following rate :

In gold, silver, diamond, precious stones, pearls, corals, horses, elephants	...	...	...	...	50 karas
In cotton threads, clothes, copper, brass, bronze, perfumes, medicines, liquor	...	...	...	...	40 karas
In grains, liquids (rasa), metals (loha), carts (śakaṭa)	...	...	...	...	30 karas
In glass and skilled artisans (mahākāravaḥ)	...	...	...	...	20 karas
Inferior artisans and animal-rearers (? vardhakipoṣakāḥ)	...	...	...	...	10 karas
In firewood, bamboos, stones, earthen pots, cooked rice (pakkāṇa), vegetables (haritapaṇyāḥ)	...	...	...	...	5 karas
Dramatists and prostitutes (kuśīlavā rūpajīvāśca)	...	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$ their wages

Forced labour was another item which fell on all occupations. "Mechanics and artisans, as well as *Sūdras* who subsist by manual labour, he (the king) may cause to work (for himself) one (day) in each month" (Manu, VII. 138; Gaut. X. 31; Vāś. XIX. 28; Viṣ. III. 32). The merchants may obtain commutation of *rājakariya* by selling one article every month to the king at discount rate (*arghāpacayena*, Gaut. X. 35).

Foreign ships touching at a port has to pay port dues to the *nāvādhyakṣa*, an officer resembling the port commissioner of our times. Duties are remitted for cargo spoilt by water in a sea-beaten boat (Arth. II. 28).

The state monopolies according to the *Arthaśāstra* are mines, salt centres and probably shipping. Mines involving small capital outlay are worked by the government itself. Otherwise these are leased out for a fixed share of the output or for a fixed rent (II. 12). The state also runs large industries like weaving mills under its own capital and management.

Since toll rates are fixed on the estimated value or profit of merchandise, prices have necessarily to be fixed. And fixed price requires fixed weights and measures. Hence, "let (the king) fix (the rates for) the purchase and sale of all marketable goods, having (duly) considered whence they come, whither they go, how long they have been kept, the (probable) profit and the probable outlay. Once in 5 nights, or at the close of each fortnight, let the king publicly settle the prices for the (merchant). All weights and measures must be duly marked and once in six months let him re-examine them" (Manu, VIII. 401-03). The interval depends on the variability in price of goods.

Authorised persons alone shall collect as middlemen
 grains and other merchandise. Otherwise
 Control of buying and selling. they will be confiscated by the Superin-
 tendent of Commerce (dhānyapaṇya-
 nicayāṃścānujñātaḥ kuryuḥ ; anyathā nīcitameṣāṃ paṇyā-
 dhyakṣo gr̥hnīyāt, Arth. IV. 2). This seems to be to
 eliminate competition, speculation and hoarding. Again,
 “ whenever there is an excesssive supply of merchandise, the
 Superintendent shall centralise its sale and prohibit the sale
 of similar merchandise elsewhere before the centralised
 supply is disposed of. Favourably disposed towards the
 people, shall merchants sell this centralised supply for daily
 wages,”—(paṇyabābulyāt paṇyādhyakṣaḥ sarvapaṇyānyeka-
 mukhāni vikrīṇīta. Teṣvavikrīteṣu nānye vikrīṇīran.
 Tāni divasavetanena vikrīṇīran anugraheṇa prajānām.
Ibid). This means a warehouse and clearance sale under
 state control and if customers competent to pay are not
 forthcoming, the goods may be disposed of for bodily
 labour.

This is how the law-giver and the economist met new
 contingencies. The derivation of a revenue
 From free to regu- from the new income was their primary
 lated economy. concern but this required order in business.

From fixation of the toll they are led to fixation of prices,
 of weights and measures. With increasing facilities given
 for protection, charges multiply. With the increasing
 complexities of the market, the state comes to grip with
 new problems. It must liquidate speculation and hoarding,
 break monopolies and corners, dissolve glut and scarcity
 and maintain the equipoise between dealers and customers.
 It must in short inaugurate a regulated instead of a free
 market. Indian economic theory thus parts company with
 Adam Smith and Turgot and falls in line with the rigorous
 totalitarianism of Friedrich List.

BOOK IV

BANKING AND CURRENCY

Sidham vase 42 Vesākhamase rāño Kṣaharātasa kṣatra-
pasa Nahapānasa jāmātarā Dīnīkaputrena Uṣavadātena
saṃghasa cātudisasa imam leṇam niyātitaṃ data cānena
akṣayanivi kāhāpaṇasahasrāṇi trini 3000 saṃghasa cātu-
disasa ye imasmim leṇe vasantānaṃ bhavisati civarika
kuśāṇamūle ca ete ca kāhāpaṇā prayutā Govadbanavāthavāsu
śreṇisu kolīkanikāye 2000 vṛdhi paḍikaśata aparakolīkani-
kāye 1000 vadhi pāyūnapaḍikaśata ete ca kāhāpaṇā apaḍi-
dātavā vodhibhojā ete civarikasahasrāṇi be 2000 ye paḍike
sate eto mama leṇe vasavuthāna bhikhunaṃ vīsāya ekikaśa
civarika bārasaka yā sahasra prayutaṃ pāyūnapaḍike śate
ato kuśāṇamūla.....ete ca sarva srāvita nigamasabhāya
nibadha ca phalakavāre caritratoti bhūyo nena dataṃ vase
41 Kātikaśudhe panarasa puvāke vase 45 panarasa.....niyu-
taṃ bhagavatāṃ devānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ ca karṣāpaṇa-
sahasrāṇi satari 70,000 paṃcatriśaka suvarṇa kṛtā phala-
kavāre caritratoti.

—Nasik Cave Inscription

Success ! In the year 42, in the month of Vesākha,
Uṣavadāta, son of Dīnīka, son-in-law of king Nahapāna,
the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa, has bestowed this cave on the
Saṃgha generally ; he has also given a perpetual endow-
ment, three thousand—3000 *kāhāpaṇas*, which, for the
members of the Saṃgha of any sect and any origin dwelling
in this cave, will serve as cloth money and money for out-
side life ; and those *kāhāpaṇas* have been invested in guilds
dwelling in Govadhana,—2000 in a weavers' guild, interest
one *pratika* (monthly) for the hundred, (and) 1000 in another
weavers' guild, interest three quarters of a *pratika* (monthly)
for the hundred ; and those *kāhāpaṇas* are not to be repaid,
their interest only to be enjoyed. Out of them, the two

• thousand—2000— at one *pratika* per cent. are the cloth money ; out of them to every one of the twenty monks who keep the *vassa* in my cave, a cloth money of 12 (*kāhāpaṇas*). As to the thousand which have been invested at an interest of three quarters of a *pratika* per cent. out of them the money for *kuśaṇa*.....and all this has been proclaimed (and) registered at the town's hall, at the record office according to custom.

Again the donation previously made by the same in the year 41, on the fifteenth of the bright half of Kārtika, has in the year 45, on the fifteenth.....been settled on the venerable gods and Brāhmaṇas, *viz.*, seventy thousand—70,000—*kārṣāpaṇas*, each thirty-five making a *suvarṇa*, a capital (therefore) of two thousand *suvarṇas*. (This is registered) at the record office according to custom.

CHAPTER I

MONEY-LENDING AND CREDIT

Productive industries and unproductive business. From money to money-lending. Business loan. Famine loan. Instruments of credit : pledge, surety. Bond of debt ; acquittance. Rate of interest ; discriminating and differential rates ; accumulation ; forfeiture and moratorium. Illegal rates, condemnation of usury. Inheritance of debt and credit. Repudiation and debt suit. Service and slavery for default. Forcible realisation. Punishment for unpaid debt. Insolvency. The debtor's plight.

Trade, the third of the *vāttās* was followed by the fourth, *viz.*, usury. With the growth of Unproductive business, trade,—the primitive agricultural and pastoral economy, inclusive, of course of small cottage industries, is modified under the stress of currency and credit. Money introduces itself as a new factor in the market, increasingly asserting its place in exchange, and fostering under its protective wings the speculative trader. Beside agriculture and cattle-rearing and other productive industries appears the art of making money simply by clever buying and selling or by lending one's hoarded wealth to others at interest. This means a partial breakdown of the self-sufficient agricultural-cum-industrial village and accentuation of economic disparity between the classes.

Transactions of credit were fairly established by the post-Vedic times when 'business' was well on foot. These did not begin with money. Business loan. The owner of the land and merchandise might hire them out to enterprising people for a share of profit (*Jāt.* VI. 69 ; IV. 256 ; V. 436). There is the oft-quoted simile that a man sets up a business contracting a loan (*iṇam adāya* ;

com. : 'taking goods on interest'), that his business succeeds so that he is not only able to pay off the old debt he had incurred but there is a surplus over to maintain a wife (Dn. II. 69; Mn. 39). In a more elaborate parable wealthy *gahapatis* and their sons seeing a shop-keeper shrewd, clever and resourceful, competent to support his sons and wife and from time to time to pay interest to money loaned, offers him wealth saying: "master shop-keeper, take this money and trade with it, support your sons and wife, and pay us back from time to time."

.....gahapatī vā gahapatiputtā vā aḍḍhā mahaddhanā mahābhogā te naṃ evaṃ jānanti—ayaṃ kho bhavaṃ pāpaṇiko cakkhumā ca vidhūro ca paṭibalo puttadāraṇ ca posetuṃ ambhākaṇ ca kālena kālaṃ anuppadātun ti. Te naṃ bhogehi nimantanti—ito samma pāpaṇika bhoge karitvā puttadāraṇ ca posehi ambhākaṇ ca kālena kālaṃ anuppadehī ti. An. I. 177.

In the *Arthaśāstra*, interest on stock, *i.e.*, loan invested for business (*prakṣepa*) is fixed at one-half of profit, payable every year, and accumulable up to a sum twice the principal (*mūlyadviguṇaḥ*) (III. 11). According to the *Śāntiparva* the share for capital is as high as 6/7 (85·7 p.c.) and even 15/16 (93·75 p.c.) of the profit (60·25). The rule however seems to apply only between a capitalist employer and hired hawker contracted on a profit-sharing basis.

Business apart, there were of course cases of borrowing and lending in cash and kind to be repaid with interest. Agricultural loan was an early practice of enlightened statesmanship and in famine doles were given to the indigent gratuitously or on terms of repayment at harvest.¹

Debts might be secured or unsecured. The creditor might demand a surety for payment or a surety for appearance. For clearance of unpaid debt the heir of the former was liable, not of the latter (*Manu*, VIII. 159 f.; *Viṣ.* VI, 41;

¹ Instruments of credit.

¹ See *supra*, pp. 108f.

Vr. XI. 41). Big commercial deals were made on credit on the security of a signet ring (Jāt. I. 121). The debtor's daughter might be taken as slave to secure against accumulated interest (No. 436). The pledgee of course did not acquire proprietary right on the pledge (ādhi) which was ruled by the laws of deposit. It was to be reconveyed when the debt was paid up (Arth. III. 12; Yāj. II. 58 f.) unless it was lost without the fault of the holder (Gaut. XII. 42). A productive pledge (*i.e.*, usufructuary mortgage) is never lost to the debtor even in case of default (Arth. III. 12; Yāj. II. 58 f.; Manu, VIII. 143; Viṣ. VI. 5) and it cannot be given away or sold under any circumstances.¹

There was considerable use of the instruments of credit. Merchants sometimes transacted between themselves on credit without any security. "Many traders borrowed money from him (Anāthapiṇḍika) on their bonds—to the amount of 18 crores; and the great merchant never called the money in" (bahū vohārūpajivino pi 'ssa hatthato paṇṇe āropetvā atṭhārasakoṭi-saṃkhaṃ dhanam iṇaṃ gaṇhimsu, Jāt. I. 227). But all loans secured or unsecured had to be confirmed by means of a written bond or agreement of debt (karaṇa. Manu, VIII. 154 coms.; Vr. VIII. 11; iṇapaṇṇam) which the creditor (iṇāyika) had to present to the debtor when asking for any payment (Jāt. IV. 262). The city god of Sāvatti instructs a fairy to realise Anāthapiṇḍika's bad debt in the following manner: "Take the semblance of his agent . . . repair

¹ Governing a pledge and the two parties in it, the Arthasāstra lays down: "In the absence of the creditor or mediator, the amount of the debt may be kept in the custody of the elders of the village and the debtor may have the pledged property redeemed, or with its value fixed at the time and with no interest chargeable for the future, the pledge may be left where it is. When there is any rise in the value of the pledge or when it is apprehended that it may be depreciated or lost in the near future, the pledge may, with permission from the judges (dharmaṭha), or on the evidence furnished by the officer-in-charge of pledges, sell the pledge either in the presence of the debtor or under the presidency of experts who can see whether such apprehension is justified (III. 12).

to their houses with the bonds in one hand and pens in the other and say,—“Here is the acknowledgment of your debt—pay up the gold *kahāpaṇas* you owe.”

tvam tassa āyuttakavesaṃ gahe tvā . . . ekena hatthena paṇṇaṃ ekena lekhaṇiṃ gahe tvā tesāṃ gehaṃ gantvā . . . idaṃ tumhākaṃ iṇapaṇṇaṃ . . . tumhehi gahitakabhāpaṇāni detha (Jāt. I. 230).

For every payment the creditor must always give the debtor a receipt and an acquittance on clearance. Otherwise he must pay interest to the debtor as he had obtained previously (Nār. I. 114 f.; Vṛ. XI. 66).

The just and normal rate of interest is laid down by law-givers as $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. per month or 15 p. c. per annum (Manu. VIII. 140; Vāś. II. 51; Baudh. I. 5. 10. 22; Nār. I. 99; Vṛ. XI. 3; Arth. III. 11). In Gautama the rate is 5 *māṣas* a month for 20 *kārṣāpaṇas* (XII. 29). If the ratio as laid down by commentator Haradatta, viz., 1 *kārṣāpaṇa* = 20 *māṣas* is accepted then the rate works out perfectly to 15 p. c. per annum. But on the basis of Manu's equivalence, i.e., 1 *kārṣāpaṇa* = 16 *māṣas* (VIII. 134-36) the rate is 18.75 p. c. per annum. Presumably the rate is higher in the earlier Sūtra work and Haradatta, a very late commentator modified the scale of equivalence only to adjust the Sūtra rate to the more common rate of the later Smṛtis.

According to the commentators Nārāyaṇa, Rāghavānanda and Nandana and according to Yājñavalkya (II. 37) the rate of 15 p. c. is for debt secured by a pledge. For unsecured loans the rates are 2, 3, 4 or 5 in 100 according to the *varṇas* :

i.e., for Brāhmaṇa debtor	...	24 p.c. per annum.
„ Kṣatriya	„	36 „
„ Vaiśya	„	48 „
„ Śūdra	„	60 „

—Manu. VIII, 141f; Vis. VI. 7; Nār. I. 100.

Differential customary rates are given also in the Arthasāstra, but not on the basis of caste discriminations. Apart from the just rate (dharmyā) of $1\frac{1}{4}$ p. c. per month, these are 5, 10 and 20 respectively :

<i>i.e.</i> , the commercial rate (vyavahārikī) is	...	60 p.c. per annum.
the rate prevailing in forests (kāntā-rakānām) is	...	120 ,, ,,
the rate among sea-traders (sāmu-drānām) is	...	240 ,, ,,
—III. 11.		

Special forms of interest are compound interest (cakravṛddhi)¹; periodical interest (kālavṛddhi) in which the interest is to be paid with the principal within a fixed period²; stipulated interest (kārita), *i.e.*, exceeding legal rate; corporal interest (kāyika) which is payable with bodily labour either of the debtor or of a pledged animal or slave;³ daily interest (śikhāvṛddhi) and the use of a pledge (bhogalābha) when no interest is claimed (Gaut. XII. 34 f.; Manu, VIII. 153; Nār. I. 102-4; Vṛ. XI. 4-11).

Interest can accumulate only up to a sum equal to the principal, after which it ceases (Gaut. XII. 30 f.; Arth. III. 11). But usury was growing ahead, and later law-givers have to adjust their rules accordingly. Manu has: 'Interest payable with the principal shall never exceed the sum, or in the case of grain, fruit, wool or hair and beasts of burden, four times the loan, (VIII. 151). Subsequent law-books speak in more and more elastic terms. In some countries loan grows to twice the principal; in others 3, 4 or 8 times. Gold may grow to twice; grain to thrice; clothes to four times; liquids octuple; interest on women and cattle may grow up to their

¹ This form of interest is prohibited in the Arthasāstra (III. 11).

² 'If a large or small interest is taken on condition that the loan is to be repaid on a certain date, and that, in case of non-payment, it is to be trebled or quadrupled, that is called periodical interest'—Haradatta.

³ See Manu, VIII. 153 Coms.

issue (Viṣ. VI. 11-15; Nār. I. 106 f.). According to Vṛhaspati gold grows to twice; clothes and base metals thrice; grain, edible plants, cattle and wool four times; pot-herbs five times; seeds and sugarcane six times; salt, oil and spirits eight times (XI. 2).

No interest accrues for a pledged loan where the pledge yields profit (Gaut. XII. 32; Manu, VIII. 143; Viṣ. VI. 5; Yāj. II. 58; Arth. III. 12) nor such a pledge (*i.e.*, a usufructuary mortgage) can be given away or sold for default. If the pledge is misused, the creditor forfeits the interest and has to pay the price (Manu, VIII. 144; Viṣ. VI. 6), for un-authorised use he forfeits half the interest (Manu, VIII. 145). The pledge must be reconveyed when the debtor is ready, *i.e.*, when he pays up (Arth. III. 12). A moratorium of interests is prescribed for persons engaged in long sacrifices (dīrghasatra), diseased, living in teachers' place, minor (vālam) and pauper (asāram) (Arth. III. 11) as well as for a person for whom it is physically impossible to pay, *e.g.*, an imprisoned man (Gaut. XII. 33 and Haradatta). Payment of debt cannot be refused by the creditor but may be kept in others' custody free of interest. Debts neglected for ten years except in the case of minors, aged persons, diseased, involved in calamities, sojourning abroad shall not be received back (daśavarṣopekṣitamṛṇamapratigrāhyam, III. 11).

The strict injunctions of the Śāstras against violation of legal or customary rates together with the growing elasticity of the rules show that the practice shaped the theory rather than theory the practice. The Arthaśāstra (III. 11) and Yājñavalkya (II. 61) think that the welfare of state requires a strict security of lending transactions and prescribe fine for transgressors. Manu forbids six special forms of interests (VIII. 153). While in earlier books moneylending is tolerated (Gaut. X. 6, XI. 21) it is condemned in later

Forfeiture and moratorium.

Usury.

works in emphatic terms (Vāś. II. 41 f.; Baudh. I. 5. 10. 23-25; Manu, III. 153, 165, 180) obviously because it degenerated into usury.¹

A debt unlimited by time is bequeathed to sons, grandsons or lawful heirs or joint partners of debt (sahagrāhinah pratibhuvo vā, Arth. III. 11; Gaut. XII. 40). A debt is

inherited down to three generations not to the 4th (Viṣ. VI. 27 f.; Nār. I. 4; Vṛ. XI. 49). Debt contracted for the benefit

Inheritance of debt
and credit.

of a united family must be discharged by the members even if they have separated afterwards (Manu, VIII. 166; Viṣ. VI. 36; Nār. I. 13). A husband is responsible for his wife's borrowing, not a wife for her husband's except in the case of herdsmen, hunters, vintners, dancers and washermen who live and earn with their wife (Arth. III. 11). According to Viṣṇu however, the husband and son is not to pay the debt of his wife or mother except in the case of herdsmen, hunters, etc. (VI. 32, 37). Money due by a surety, a commercial debt, a bridal fee (śulka), debts contracted for spirituous liquor or in gambling, and a fine shall not involve the sons of the debtor (Gaut. XII. 41). For clearance of unpaid debt the heir of a surety for payment is liable, not of a surety for appearance (Manu, VIII. 159 f.; Viṣ. VI. 41; Vṛ. X. 41). From the Jātakas it appears that dues were inherited also on the creditor's side. It is for a deceitful debtor (dhāraṇako) to refuse to pay to the creditor's son on the creditor's death (IV. 45). Another vicious set ruined a merchant family (seṭṭhikula) by repudiating their debts. ".....Those who hired their land or carried on merchandise for them, finding out that there was no son or brother

¹ The Sāstra rules are plainly the reason why Aelian rushes into the statement : " The Indians neither put out money at usury, nor know how to borrow. It is contrary to established usage for an Indian either to do or to suffer a wrong, and therefore they neither make contracts nor require securities " (V. L. iv. 1).

in the family to enforce the payment, seized what they had in hands¹ and ran away as they pleased."

Ye pi nesam khettaṃ vā bhātā vā iṇaṃ codetvā gaṇhanto nāma n'atthīti attano attano hatthagataṃ gaṇetvā yathā-rucim palāyimsu, VI. 69.

Of course repudiating a lawful debt is condemned and the perjurer becomes an outcast
Repudiation & debt suit. (vasalo, Sut. 120). For disputed cases, debt suits were resorted to. The bond was the most effective document, besides which there must be more than one witness, and at least two acceptable to both parties. A debtor cannot be sued simultaneously for more than one debt by one or two creditors (nānārṇa-samavāye tu naiko dvau yugapadabhivadeyātām anyatra pratiṣṭhamānāt) excepting in the case of a sojourner who is to pay in the order of borrowing. (Arth. III. 11).²

A recognised form of payment both of principal as well as of interest was by personal labour
Payment by service and slavery. (kāyika) and the creditor could claim this as a right if the debtor failed in his stipulation (Mbh. XII. 109. 18). Manu of course, qualifies this rule with the clause—"unless the debtor is of superior caste to the creditor" (VIII. 177) which may well correspond with practice if for 'caste' is substituted 'power and position.' The creditor might even take the defaulting debtor or any of his wards into slavery as happened in the case of Isidāsi who was carried away by force in lieu of debt and accumulated interest (Therig. 444).³

¹ Cowell and Rouse render 'hatthagatam' as 'what they could lay their hands upon, which should certainly be revised as above.

² These rules give the lie direct to the remark of foreign memoirists: "Among the Indians one who is unable to recover a loan or a deposit has no remedy at law. All the creditor can do is to blame himself for trusting a rogue" (Meg. Fr. 27C. Nicol. Damasc. 44; Stob. Serm. 42).

³ For enslavement from debt, see Bk. VI. Ch. I.

On the legality of force in realisation of debt, law-givers are of two opinions. In *Āpastamba* it is reprobated for a creditor to sit with his debtor hindering him from fulfilling his duties and thus forcing him to pay (I. 6. 19. 1). But force is approved in *Manu* (VIII. 49), *Viṣṇu* (VI. 18 f.) and *Vṛhaspati* (XI. 55). The creditor might employ an agent to realise debt by showing the bonds (*Jāt.* I. 230).

Plight of insolvent debtor.

Turning from legal quibbles to actualities and realities of the situation, it may be observed that the debtor being the poorer and weaker party always stood at a disadvantage with the creditor irrespective of their castes. In the *Anguttara nikāya* it is frankly admitted that if the debtor is poor he may be put to jail for any trifle ranging from 100 down to $\frac{1}{2}$ *kaḥāpaṇa*, but not so if he is rich and powerful (I. 251). The imprisonment was preceded by severe humiliations and hecklings. One gets into debt in straits and when the interest falls due (*kālābhatam vaḍḍhim*) and he is a defaulter, the creditors press him (*codenti*), beset him (*anucaranti*), dogging his footsteps and vexing him, throwing mud at him in public or in a crowd and doing like things that cause pain (*ātapa-tṭhapana*, etc. Com.) and at last bind him (*bandhanti*) (*An.* III. 352). Creditors are known as heckling and pressing debtors for payment at very daybreak (*Sn.* I. 171). A debtor, though a *Brāhmaṇa* is pressed so hard by the creditors that he goes into the forest to commit suicide (*Jāt.* VI. 178). Another insolvent asks his creditors to appear with their bonds only to commit suicide in their presence (IV. 262). Such a terror they were that a whole settlement of defaulting carpenters shipped off overnight in an unknown voyage (IV. 159). No wonder, it is a bliss to be without debt (*An.* II. 68). The man who cooks his own humble pottage but is free from debt (*aṇṇi*) is the happiest man on earth (*Mbh.* III. 311. 115).

CHAPTER II

BANKING

Hoarding. Deposit and its laws. Origin of banking.—economic influence. Corporate banks. Industrial banks. Fixed deposits and endowments in guild banks. Real property as deposit. Rate of interest on fixed deposits. Security and stability. Ubiquity of banks. Comparison between the North and the South.

As has been seen, usury was disreputable; and it was not always easy to recover a loan. Hence
 Hoarding. to lend one's hoarded money at interest was not preferred by all. Safety, rather than profit, was the prime consideration for many. They buried gold or coins underground, generally in a forest or in river bank (I. 227, 277, 323) or in some other lonely place. Huge amounts,—of the description of 18, 30, or 40 crores thus remained in the custodianship of the Earth though not as safely as the depositors expected. For kings and robbers were always vigilant over these troves and a flood or erosion might sweep away all traces of the buried treasure.

An honest depositary was more reliable than a clod.
 Deposit : its laws. Rules on deposit adumbrated in the Smṛtis show that to receive and properly discharge a deposit from a known person was a very common institution. The laws of debt either apply *ipso facto* to deposit or the rules governing deposit are formulated on the same lines as the rules of debt and pledge. The Arthaśāstra also states that the laws of debt apply to deposits (upanidhi). In case of foreign invasion, natural calamities and accidents the depositary is not answerable for loss. Otherwise a used or lost deposit is not only to be requited but a fine is to be fixed (III. 11). The Jātakas are familiar with this practice. Treasures could be deposited in good

faith to a person and to misappropriate it was penal (I. 375; II. 181). A depositary who spends a cash of a thousand pieces, compounds by giving his daughter to wife to the depositor (III. 342) or with the same amount (VI. 521).

Thus, much before the Christian era were developed the two pre-requisites of banking, *viz.*, the practices of lending money at interest and depositing property for safety. The former was morally retrograde because it had a definitely economic import and smacked of selfishness and avarice. The latter suffered under no moral stigma and the depositary even acquired virtue by acquitting himself unselfishly. These two institutions, ethically antagonistic but economically akin, fused into one under the dominating demands of the market. The honest and virtuous depositary found it worth while to lend the deposit to businessmen for interest, disregarding what moralists might say of him. The depositor in his turn claimed a part of the interest so derived. The latter thus obtained an interest from his deposit and the former an interest from its further investment. Thus deposits became safe. The depositor and the depositary met each other's demands, and so the depositary and the businessman in search of capital. And none had to stand on virtue, each had his returns in cash.

This development is clearly indicated in the statement of the Arthaśāstra that the rules of *upanidhi* (deposit) apply to *nikṣepa* (investment) (III. 11). That is, if one receives an investment he has to discharge his obligations in the same manner as if he receives a deposit simply on good faith. Of course individuals were not often competent to accept such obligations. It was the guilds and corporations who received deposits and lent them to business thus functioning as banks. This also is illustrated in the Arthaśāstra where it elaborates its unscrupulous revenue-making devices. "King's agents

Origin of Banking.

Corporate Banks.

disguised as merchants may borrow from corporations bar gold and coin gold for various kinds of merchandise to be procured from abroad " (samāje vā sarvapaṇyasandohena prabhūtaṃ hiraṇyasuvārṇamṛṇaṃ grhṇīyāt) and pretend to be robbed the same night (V. 2). Transactions of borrowing and lending are intimately associated with merchants and manufacturing activities and big magnets are attracted by the banking facilities even in an uncultivated tract of country (VII.11).

Since deposits were invested in business, it was most profitable for the joint-stock concerns to receive them. The middleman's share could thus be dispensed with. Banking thus became an appendage of other business.¹ The industrial guilds became banks *par excellence*. The Arthaśāstra permits them to receive deposits (IV. 1). Ancient inscriptions present them in the fullest of their activity.

Here they appear not only as banks but also as trustees and executors of charitable endowments. Capital amounts were received as fixed deposit never to be repaid. Interests were paid in kind to the beneficiaries of the endowment. Thus a weavers' guild at Govardhana received 2000 *kāhāpaṇas* from King Uṣavadāta and out of the interest gave 12 *kāhāpaṇas* (bārasaka) as cloth money to each of the twenty monks who kept the *vassa* in the Nasik Cave. Another 1000 *kāhāpaṇas* were invested in another guild for money for *kuśaṇa* on behalf of the same monks (Nasik C. I. 12.v). Similarly by the lay devotee Viṣṇudattā the Sakāni, "..... for the well-being and happiness of all beings, in order to provide medicine for the sick of the Saṃgha of monks of

¹ It remained so under the great Śeṭhs and Shroffs down to the end of the 18th century when the Company traders first opened independent banks, viz., the Bengal Bank and the General Bank of India.

whatever sect and origin dwelling in this monastery on Mt. Triraśmi, a perpetual endowment has been invested for all time to come with the guilds dwelling at Govardhana, viz., in the hands of the guild of *kularikas* (potters?), one thousand—10 0—*kārṣāpaṇas*, of the guild of *odayantrikas* (workers with hydraulic machines or water-pumps) two thousand, of the guild of.....five hundred—500—, of the guild of *tilapisakas* (oil-pressers)....." and all this proclaimed and duly registered in the record office of the town hall (15. vii). By another, a pious merchant, "has been given as a perpetual endowment one hundred—100—*kāhāpaṇas* in the hands of the Saṃgha, out of this a cloth money (civarika) of 12 *kāhāpaṇas* is to be given to the ascetic who keeps the *vassa* here" (17. viii). In a Mathura Inscription of Huiṣka's time, a lord makes an endowment depositing to the *rāka* (?) guild 550 *purāṇas* and to the flour-makers' guild (*saṃitakaraśreṇī*) 550 *purāṇas* out of the monthly interest whereof 100 Brāhmaṇas should be served daily and the destitute and hungry according to a prescribed schedule.¹

The guild banks received not only cash deposit. They accepted immovable property like a corn-field. They managed the property and assigned an interest out of its income.

A Junnar Buddhist Cave Inscription records the investment of money with the guild of *vasakāras* (bamboo-workers) and the guild of *kāsākāras* (braziers) just on the same lines as the endowments of Nasik and Mathura. Another records the investment by a lay devotee—a member of the guild of *koṇācikas*, of the income of a field at Veḍālikā for planting *karañju* trees and of another field for planting banyan trees.²

¹ E. I. XXI. 10.

² Bühler and Burgess : *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, IV. 24, 27

The rate of interest on fixed deposit, i.e., where .
 “.....those *kāhāpaṇas* are not to be repaid, their interest only to be enjoyed,”
 Interest on fixed deposit.
 is according to Nasik 12. v., 1 *pratika*¹ monthly for the 100 when the deposit is 2000 *kāhāpaṇas* and $\frac{3}{4}$ *pratika* monthly for the 100 when the deposit is 1000 *kāhāpaṇas*. Thus,

the interest on fixed deposit of 2000 is 12 p.c. per annum
 “ „ „ „ 1000 „ 9 p.c. „ „ „
 Nasik 17. viii. corroborates the former rate but the deposit is much less, only 100 *kāhāpaṇas*. The rate in the Mathura Inscription is much higher. The interest on 1100 *purāṇas*² is sufficient to enable 100 Brāhmaṇas to be served daily and the destitute and hungry according to a fixed schedule. Probably the rates differed from place to place and from time to time and sometimes even in the same place and time according to the credit of the banks. In any case it was lower than the customary rate of 15 p.c. per annum of ordinary lending transactions because of the better security afforded to depositors. “The low rate of the interest in fact is an index at once of the security and stability of the banks, their efficiency, permanence and prosperity which attracted to them even royal deposits and benefactions.”³

The execution of the objects of the endowments required much extra-professional skill, e.g., planting trees, providing medicine, supplying ghee and the like. Big deposits were distributed over more than one bank obviously with a view to additional security. The banking operation of guilds and businessmen was not confined to any particular place and

¹ *Pratika* seems to be the same as *kārṣāpaṇa* as Bühler thinks. This is however refuted by Senart, E. I., VIII. 8.

² Silver coin, not copper *kārṣāpaṇa*.

³ R. K. Mukherji : *Local Self-Government in Ancient India*, p. 98.

time after its beginning which is traced back to the Christian era. The Gupta inscriptions record similar benefactions of deposits (akṣayanīvī) of which the interest alone was appropriated for charity on behalf of *bhikṣus* and the capital kept in tact. D. B. Spooner who discovered no less than sixteen specimens of a seal at Basarh from Gupta times bearing the legend 'śreṣṭhi-nigamasya,' is led to remark: "Banking was evidently as prominent in Vaiśālī as we should have expected it to be judging from the notice in Manu to the effect that the people in Magadha were bards and traders."¹ But the South led the West and the East in these activities. There are profuse South Indian Inscriptions of grants providing for sacred lamps at shrines sometimes received in kind according to the convenience of the donors and trustees. The point of difference between the Northern and Southern inscriptions is that the rate of interest of the latter is a bit higher ranging between 12·5 and 50 p.c. while that of the former is between 9 and 12 p.c.² In South India moreover such deposits were received not only by industrial guilds but also by village unions who invested the deposit in public works.³

¹ *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey, 1913-14*, p. 122.

² R. K. Mukherji : *Op. cit.*, pp 118f.

³ Hu'tzsch ; *South Indian Inscriptions*.

CHAPTER III

EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY

Origin of currency. Barter. Standard media of exchange. Transition to currency. Foreign or Indian origin? Foreign coins and their influence, Persian *siglos*, Roman *aureus* and *denarius*. Barter holds ground.

Development of currency. 'Circulating monetary weights.' Metric divisions. Attestation: punch-marks,—by traders, by local government. Local character of coin-types.

Metallic contents of currency. Gold, Silver, Copper,—the standard *kārṣāpaṇa*, the tokens of *kārṣāpaṇa*, fluctuating relations. The exchange ratio,—gold and silver, gold and copper, fluctuating relations. Other metals.

State monopoly of currency? Private coinage. State regulation. Debasement of coins. The *rūpasutta* or science of currency and coinage.

The evolution of currency, by ushering in Credit and Banking changed the face of the economic world. But it was a slow and long process. The primitive method of exchange was virtually confined to barter. As late as in Dharmasūtras and the Pali canon it is a very common practice (Cv. VI. 19. 1). Gautama (VII. 16 f.) and Vāśiṣṭha (II. 37 f.) permit this on special commodities. A potter barter his wares for rice, beans (*mugga*) or pulse (*kālāya*) (Mn. 81). The system prevails in as small scale as obtaining a meal for a gold pin (Jāt. VI. 519) or in as big scale as between 500 wagons and wares of corresponding value (Jāt. I. 377).

From barter of goods the next stage was to use certain commodities of general value as standard media of exchange. The earliest and commonest of these were the cow and rice. The medium of course varied according to the class within whom it circulated. Among the military class horses suited better. The tribute proceeds of a day are estimated at above the value of 1,000 horses (Mbh. III.

Standard media of exchange.

195. 9) and a teacher's fee is measured as 800 steeds of the best breed (V. 106. 11). Slaves, rice and other food grains were similarly used (Jāt. I. 124 f. ; Mil. 341). Pāṇini, besides mentioning *kaṃsa*, *śūrpa* and *khārī*, i.e., grains of these measures, testifies to the circulation of *go-puccha* or cow's tail (V. 1. 9) and of *vasana* or pieces of cloth of definite value (V. 1. 27).

The media of exchange and their replacement by a metallic currency depends on the stage of social evolution. Since this was not uniform among all communities and in all localities the means of exchange necessarily varied even at the same time. Skins of game animals were the most suitable media for the nomadic and hunting aboriginals. For pastoral tribes like the Ābhīras domestic animals like the cow and not their skins are the appropriate measures of value. In the agricultural stage, agricultural products, particularly the staple corn come to be used as currency. As commerce develops diverse articles such as garments, coverlets and goatskins become circulating media (Av. IV. 16). Metals and shells, first worked into ornaments, turn into media of exchange and then into units of currency. The former stage was reached though on a very limited scale and within limited circles at the time of the early Vedic literature. The latter and the final stage is seen for the first time in the Vinaya,—the 11th and 12th Bhikkhuni Nisaggiya Rules and the Cullavagga.¹

These and many other evidences refute the theory of foreign origin of Indian metallic currency propounded by Keneddy and Smith. It has been held that "introduction into India of the use of coins, that is to say, metallic pieces of

Currency : Foreign or Indian origin?

¹ Māsskarūpassa, V. 8. 2; XII. 1. 1. "It is evident from the use of the word 'rūpa' here that stamped pieces of money were known in the valley of the Ganges as early as the time when the Cullavagga was composed." Rhys. Davids : *Vinaya Texts*, foot-note.

definite weight authenticated as currency by marks recognised as a guarantee of value, may be ascribed with much probability to the 7th century B.C. when foreign maritime trade seems to have begun."¹ Now foreign maritime trade began much earlier, and the earliest *kārṣāpaṇa* coins found in India bear no evidence of foreign influence. On the existence of an independent Indian coinage in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Rapson argues :—(a) the square Indian form cannot be traced to the round-shaped Western coinage, (b) the square coin was so firmly established in *cir.* 200 B.C. that it was imitated by the earliest Greek settlers, *viz.*, Demetrius, Pantalion and Agathocles, (c) and it is represented in the sculptures of Bodh Gaya and Barhut. Thus native coins were in circulation along with the Persian *sigloi* in the Achemenian period.²

Of course Smith is true so far as with the growing trade and other contact with the West, foreign coins circulated in India and influenced the native coinage. Since gold in relation to silver had a higher value abroad than in India,³ foreign merchants exchanged their silver for Indian gold. This accounts for the large number of silver coins found in India. The Persian *sigloi* thus circulated freely in Indian satrapy (*cir.* 500-331 B.C.) and this is confirmed by the adoption of the Persian weight standard for their silver coin by the Bactrian princes in India "with the object of bringing the Graeco-Indian silver coinage into relation with the Persian coinage, in such a way that two Greek hemidrachms of about 40 grains might be the exact equivalent of a Persian *siglos* of 80 grains."⁴

Influence of foreign
coins : Persian *siglos*.

¹ Imperial Gazetteer, II. 135.

² J. R. A. S., 1895, pp. 869-71.

³ See *infra.*, p. 363.

⁴ Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 867 f.

In the days of the Periplus, among the imports to Barygaza are "gold and silver coin, on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country" (49).

Roman aureus and denarius.

"The profit on the exchange was due to the superiority of the Roman coinage to that of India, which latter was still crude, of base metal (bronze or lead) for which even the bullion was imported."¹ The Roman *aureus* and *denarius* were current throughout western India and strongly influenced the Kuṣāṇa and Kṣatrapa coinages. The *dināra* appears as a current coin and finds its place in later Smṛtis (Vr. X. 14 f.) and epigraphic records. The Yueh Chi Kings in India struck their coins in imitation of Rome so that "to the present day ancient drachmae are current in Barygaza, coming from this country (Bactria) bearing inscriptions in Greek letters and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotus and Menander" (Peri. 47). After the conquest of Kabul, Kadphises I imitated the coinage of Augustus and Tiberius (14-38 A.D.). When Roman gold of the early Emperors began to pour into India in payment for her merchandise and as the Roman coin was accepted throughout the commercial world at that time, the advantages of a gold currency and of the Roman standard weight were realised. For the facility of trade Kadphises II struck and issued the orientalised *aurei* on a large scale, agreeing in weight with their prototypes and not much inferior in purity.

Thus metallic currency, born and brought up in the soil, was influenced by foreign coinage. But money regulated only a part of the business of the land. Traffic by barter held its ground all through.² When a dog is bought for a

Continuation of barter.

¹ Schoff. But gold and silver currency was known in India from much earlier times.
² It still prevails in this country. It is wrong for Rhys Davids and Mrs. Rhys Davids to hold that "the older system of traffic by barter had entirely passed away never to return." *Buddhist India*, p. 100; *Cambridge History*, p. 217.

kahāpaṇa and a cloak (Jāt. II. 247) and a doctor is paid with 16,000 *kahāpaṇas* together with two slaves, carriages and horses (Vin. I. 272), we find barter and money exchange at the same breath both among the high and the low. At the time of the Milinda, in the land of the Punjab, "in a trader's shop oilseed and peas and beans can be either taken in barter for a small quantity of rice or peas or beans or bought for a small price decreasing in order according to requirement."

Āpaṇikassa āpaṇe tila-mugga-māse partittakena pi taṇḍula-mugga-māsena appakena pi mūlena upādāy' upādāya gaṇhanti, 341.

Barter was known even in foreign trade as late as in the age of the Antonines. "Traders to India tell us that the Indians give their own wares in exchange for those of the Greeks without employing money, even though they have gold and copper in abundance." (Pausanias, III. xii. 3.)

Currency, in its first stage, was a metallic medium of exchange of standard weight. Rhys Davids says, "Coins may, I think, be legitimately used in two senses, firstly, of pieces of metal bearing the stamp or mark of some person in authority as proof of their purity, and of their being of full weight; and secondly, of pieces similarly stamped, but thereby acquiring a value beyond that of an equal weight of metal (by the mark or stamp implying a promise to receive the coin at a higher than its intrinsic value) Now there was a time in India, before coins in either of these senses were struck, when mere pieces of bullion without a stamp at all, or merely with some private stamp, were used as money—that is as a medium of exchange, and the word *kārṣāpaṇa* may mean either coins proper of the weight of a *karṣa* or only such pieces of metal of that weight. The latter was almost certainly its original meaning

* Circulating monetary weights.

both in Sanskrit and Pali”¹ Quoting the views of Thomas, Rhys Davids agrees in the conclusion that “ ‘True coins in our modern sense’ are not mentioned in any Indian work certainly pre-Buddhistic, but ‘circulating monetary weights,’ were in use long before.”² In that stage metals had to be weighed in scales and given for a purchase. There were different standards for the different metals of gold, silver and copper. But all these standards start from a fixed weight, viz., that of the *raktika* or red seed, or of the *kṛṣṇala* or black seed of the *guñja* berry approximately about 1·8 grains. These standards are—

Gold	Silver	Copper
5 kṛṣṇala or raktika = 1 māṣa	2 kṛṣṇala = 1 māṣaka	80 kṛṣṇala or raktika or kākaṇi = 1 kārṣā- pāṇa
16 māṣa = 1 suvarṇa	16 māṣaka = 1 dharāṇa	
4 suvarṇa = 1 pāla or 1 niṣka	or purāṇa 10 dharāṇa = 1 śatamāna.	
10 pāla = 1 dharāṇa.		

— Manu, VIII. 134-37; Viṣ. IV. 7-13; Vṛ. X. 14 f; Nār. Ap. 58.

The metallic pieces of fixed weight, which thus got into the market, became the first coins. The merchants or money-changers through whose hands they passed affixed punch-marks to them in recognition of their weight and purity, evidently to obviate the necessity for repeated weighing and testing. Cunningham was the first to resolve these marks on extant coins: “I have a suspicion that several of the symbols may have been the private marks of ancient money-changers. At the present day these men are still in the habit of placing their own particular stamps on the rupees that pass through their hands, so that when any of the coins come back to them again, they know their value without making a second testing.”³ With the growing circulation of

Punch-marks : by
shroffs and local autho-
rities.

¹ *Numismata Orientalia : Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³ *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 58.

‘monetary weights’ and the realisation of their usefulness by the civil authorities, the punch-marks became the affair not of private dealers but of local authorities in a district or town. “The greater exactness of weight and the security against fraud afforded by the imperial coinage and the best of native coinages have rendered the use of the money-changer’s private stamp less and less necessary. If then, in ancient times the issue and regulation of the coinage was mainly or exclusively in the hands of the local authorities, the use of these distinguishing marks must have been universal and generally recognised” “The merchants or money-changers, to whom we have attributed the obverse punch-marks, had simply to submit their coins to the chief authority in the district, who rejected such as were deficient in weight or quality of metal, and sanctioned such as were approved by marking them with his official stamp, which may perhaps be identified with the solitary punch-mark so often found in the centre of the reverse. The occasional occurrence of more than one of these reverse punch-marks on a coin is naturally explained by supposing the coin to have passed current in more than one district, and consequently to have been officially tested more than once.”¹

Rapson’s inference is corroborated by the passage in the Visuddhimagga which indicates that every place which issued coinage had its own distinguishing mark or marks stamped on it, by observing which the shroff could at once tell from which place any particular coin came. “Discoveries of punch-marked coins with their provenances definitely known.....give rise to the incontestible conclusion that they constitute ‘coinages’ peculiar to three different provincial towns,—one belonging to Takṣaśilā of North-West India, the second to Pāṭaliputra of Eastern India and the third

Local character of
coinage.

¹ Rapson : *Op. cit.*, pp. 872 and 874.

to Vidisā of Central India.'"¹ Even up to a later stage Indian coins preserved their local types. The great Empires did not enter a homogeneous coinage. "Each of such an empire has, as a rule, retained its own peculiar coinage, and this with so much conservatism in regard to the types and fabric of the coins, that the main characteristics of these have often remained unchanged, not only by changes of dynasty, but even by transference of power from one race to another."² In the extended dominions of the Graeco-Indian and Indo-Scythian princes or of the Guptas or of the Hunas, distinct varieties of coins were in circulation in different districts at the same time. The provenance of the coins is sufficient evidence to this fact.³

The metal so stamped and used differed in the districts. The standards adopted might be gold, silver or copper. After Kadphises II introduced gold coinage in the 1st century A.D., it continued to be the standard money for a long time. The Western Kṣatrapas retained silver currency in Mehoa, Gujarat and Kathiawad. In Besnagar of Eastern Malwa again, all the finds from pre-Mauryan to the Gupta times have been copper *kārṣāpaṇas*.

The first to get into coinage was gold. Gold ornaments and jewellery being commonly used as a form of reward or payment, the transition to coinage was easy. A clear example of this

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar : *Ancient Indian Numismatics*.

² Rapson : *Catalogue of Andhra and Kṣatrapa Coins*, p. xi. The author cites the instances of Greek Princes Pantaion and Agathocles retaining the Taxila type, the Scythian Rañjubala retaining the earlier Greek type in Mathura, the Guptas continuing the type established by the Western Kṣatrapas in Gujarat.

³ The presentation of divinities of different faiths in the coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka, viz., Greek, Scythic, Zoroastrian, Vedic and Buddhist gave rise to the theory that those kings were supporters of an eclecticism in religion. Rapson explains this differently. "The natural explanation of this diversity is that these various classes of coins were current in the different provinces of a large empire..... The coins, no doubt, reflect the particular form of religion which prevailed in the district in which they were struck." Rapson : *Andhra and Kṣatrapa Coins*, p. xii. footnote.

is *niṣka* which in the Ṛg-Veda meant a necklet or medallion, in later times became successively a unit of weight of gold and a gold coin. In the Vedic times “a gold currency was evidently beginning to be known in so far as definite weights of gold are mentioned.”¹ These are the *niṣka*, the *śatamāna*, the *suvarṇa*, the *pāda* and the *kṛṣṇalā*.² Pāṇini knows several of these (V. 1) and the Smṛtis cite them as weight standards. Gold coins occur in the Arthaśāstra (II. 14) and in the Jātakas,—e.g., the *nikkha* (IV.460 f. VI.246 f.), the *suvaṇṇa* (VI. 69, 186) and the *suvaṇṇamāsaka* (IV. 106 ; V. 164). The *kaḥāpaṇa* also sometimes appears as a gold coin (I. 478). The Sāmantapāsādika says that a *kaḥāpaṇa* may be of gold, silver or copper.³ The *hiraṇyā* while generally indicating bullion in compound with *suvaṇṇa*, sometimes occurs also as gold coin, as for example when Anāthapiṇḍika purchases the Jetavana by paving it with these coins. But there have been no actual finds of gold coins from those early times. “Some thin gold films with punch-marks on them were found in the Sakiya Tope, but these were too flimsy to have been used in circulation as coins.”⁴

Silver was a rarer metal in India. Reference to silver in Buddhist canonical works is much more scarce than to gold and other metals.⁵ In fact Buddhaghosa omits silver altogether while defining *rūpiya* as stamped piece of gold, copper and bronze, wood and lac or any of these worked up into ornaments (Vin. III. 239 f.). But there is no warrant to say that “no

Silver coins.

¹ Macdonell and Keith : *Vedic Index*, II. 505.

² By citing references from Vedic texts, D. R. Bhandarkar attempts to show that these were not mere money weights but definite denominations of coins. *Ancient Indian Numismatics*.

³ Rhys Davids : *Ancient Coins and Measures*, and IV. 3.

⁴ Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India*, p. 100.

Mrs. Rhys Davids : *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, p. 877.

alone be sufficient to fix its substance *qua* coin.''¹ In Manu and Viṣṇu the *kārṣāpaṇa* is the weight standard exclusively of copper. Throughout the Jātaka stories the copper *kaḥāpaṇa* is the standard coin in circulation as is shown by the frequent omission of the denomination after the amount whereas other coins are mentioned when intended (Jāt. IV. 378; VI. 96, 97, 332). If these coins do not survive in as much quantity as might be expected it is because it is a more perishable metal than silver and apt to be melted into domestic utensils. The mention of *kārṣāpaṇa* in Manu, Viṣṇu, Yājñavalkya and the Sātavāhana Inscriptions and its discovery in the excavations at Besnagar bring its career down to the 4th century A.D.

The standard *kārṣāpaṇa* had its token coins. In Pali literature occur the *kaḥāpaṇa*, half *kaḥāpaṇa*, *pāda* or quarter *kaḥāpaṇa*, *māsaka* or 1/16 *kaḥāpaṇa* and *kākaṇī* or 1/80 *kaḥāpaṇa* (Vin. II. 294; Jāt. I. 121, 340; III. 448). Even *sippikā* or cowry shells are used as petty coin (I. 426). The Arthaśāstra distinguishes between the standard and token coins as *kośapraveśāyam*, i.e., those which deserve to be received into the treasury, and *vyavahārika*, i.e., those which are current in the market. The tokens are 1/2 *paṇa*, 1/4 *paṇa* (*pāda*), 1/8 *paṇa* (*aṣṭabhāga*), 1/16 *paṇa* (*māsaka*), 1/32 *paṇa* (*ardhamāsaka*), 1/80 *paṇa* (*kākaṇī*), 1/160 *paṇa* (*ardhakākaṇī*) (II. 12).² Coins excavated at Besnagar correspond approximately to 146 grains, the weight of a *kārṣāpaṇa* and to its fractions of 1/2, 1/4, 1/8, and 1/16 thus pointing these to be *kārṣāpaṇa* and its subdivisions.³

The value of the *kārṣāpaṇa* of course changed with the varying value of copper. This is clear from the observation of Buddhaghosa that at the time of King Bimbisāra, at Rājagaha 5 *māsakas* were

¹ Mrs. Rhys Davids : J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 878.

² These minute subdivisions are effected by the mixture of alloys.

³ Annual Report of Archaeological Survey, 1913-14, pp. 220ff; 1914-15, p. 87.

equal to 1 *pāda* and 4 *pādas* were equal to 1 *kārṣāpaṇa*, which is corroborated by the Jātaka reference that a 4-*māsaka* piece is of lower value than a *pāda* (III. 448). Buddhaghosa further warns that the *kaḥāpaṇa* of 20 *māsakas* is the ancient *nīlakahāpaṇa*,¹ not the Rudradāmaka or *kaḥāpaṇa* of 16 *māsakas*. Obviously in the scholiast's knowledge the depreciated standard was adopted and followed from the time of the Kṣatrapa king.

Neither was the ratio between gold, silver and copper steady. In a Nasik Cave Inscription, 1 *suvarṇa* is given as equal to 35 *kārṣāpaṇas* presumably the silver standard otherwise known as *dharāṇa* or *purāṇa*. According to the Arthaśāstra's metrology the silver *dharāṇa* and the gold *suvarṇa* are almost of the same weight and on that basis the ratio between gold and silver is 35 : 1. But as a matter of fact the silver standard was depreciated because of the rarity of the metal and the extant silver coins generally conform to Manu's weight for a *purāṇa* which is about 58 grains. The rate of exchange between gold and silver on the basis of Manu and the Nasik Inscription thus becomes $58 \times 35 : 146$; i.e., 14 : 1 approximately, not very far from the present rate. From the Periplus however, Cunningham has shown that gold was to silver as 8 : 1 gold being much cheaper in India than in Persia.² The same ratio according to the Śukranīti is 16 : 1 (IV. ii. 181 ff.).

The relation between gold and copper presents still more difficulties. According to Vṛhaspati (and Kātyāyana), the weight of a *suvarṇa* or *dināra* is 124 grains and that of a *karṣa* 146·4 grains and 48 *kārṣapanas* = 1 *suvarṇa* or *dināra* (X. 14 f.). Thus the exchange rate between gold and copper is $146 \times 48 : 124$ or 57 : 1 approximately. Copper is thus almost 20 times

¹ The *kālakahāpaṇa* is noted in Jātaka No. 536.

² Coins of Ancient India, p. 5.

its present value. This is intelligible when there is no intermediate silver coin between gold and copper as appears under the Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas. The Śukranīti which gives the rate between gold, silver and copper, fixes it at 16 : 1 and 80 : 1 respectively so that gold and copper stand at 1280 : 1. The remarkable variation in exchange rates is explained by the variation in regional distribution of metals whether obtained from native soil or through foreign exchange and by the still infant attempts of business communications to break through regional barriers.

Coins might be of other metals beside gold, silver and copper. The Nidānakathā speaks of lead *kaḥāpaṇas*. Coins

Other metals. of that metal have been discovered from about the beginning of the Christian era

belonging to Strato, Azes and Rañjubula and to the Andhrabhr̥tya dynasty. Nickel was traced by Cunningham in the money of the Indo-Grecian kings and it was surmised to have been used by the Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas in the time of Alexander.¹ Potin² was used by Vilivāyakura and his successors in the district round about Kolhapur, by the Andhrabhr̥tya kings, exclusively in the Chanda district of the Central Provinces and by the Kṣatrapa dynasty founded by Caṣṭana. Buddhaghosa even says that *māṣakas* of wood, bamboo, palm-leaf or lac might pass current if they bore the requisite impression of *rūpa*.

From the very nature of its origin it may be presumed that coinage was not a state monopoly.

State and private coinage. It is wrong to hold that from the earliest times this was the privilege of the state,³ and Mrs. Rhys Davids is right to assert that "there is no evidence whatever to show that these instruments of

¹ 'White iron.'

² An alloy of yellow and red copper, lead, tin and some dross.

³ D. R. Bhandarkar : *Ancient Indian Numismatics*.

exchange (the Jātaka coins) constituted a currency of standard and token coins issued and regulated by any central authority.'¹ Coins, at least in the early stages of their growth, might be struck and issued by individual traders, guilds, municipal bodies and district or central authorities. In theoretical works like the Arthaśāstra, currency is worth being reserved as a state concern. But even here the state goldsmith is to employ artisans to manufacture gold and silver coins from the bullion of citizens and country people (*sauvarṇikaḥ pauraṇānapadānām rūpyasuvarṇamāvekṣanibhiḥ kārayet*, II. 14) without charge of any brassage. Only "in getting a *suvarṇa* coin (of 16 *māṣas*) manufactured from gold or from silver, one *kākaṇi* ($\frac{1}{4}$ *māṣa*) weight of the metal more shall be given to the mint towards the loss in manufacture."

The only way by which the central authority could regulate the currency was by way of the weight of the pieces (Manu, VIII. 403; Vāś. XIX. 13). The Arthaśāstra demands the strict maintenance of the standard weight and severely reprimands lowering by even one *māṣa*. But this was not always possible, and a coin was perforce debased when the supply of its metal fell short. Debasement might be effected either by reducing the fixed weight or by increasing the alloy while maintaining the fixed weight. The former may be the reason of the mutability of weight noticeable in some of the archaeological finds of *kārṣāpaṇa* and its subdivisions. Debasement of gold by means of metallic alloys is known in early Pali literature (*upakkilesā*, An. III. 16; Sn. V. 92). The Arthaśāstra permits an alloy of $\frac{1}{4}$ in copper and of $\frac{5}{16}$ in silver with four parts of copper and one part of *tikṣṇa*, *trapu*, *sīsa*, and *añjana*. By assaying 113 extant silver coins Cunningham detected an alloy

Regulation : debasement.

¹ Mrs. Rhys Davids : J. R. A. S. 1901, p. 877.

varying from 13·8 to 24·8 per cent. Other methods of debasement were the plating of copper pieces with molten silver practised from as early as 500 B.C.¹ and addition of molten copper to a depreciated silver coin.²

The early Indian name of coin is *rūpa* or *rūpya*, apparently derived from the image or impression it carried. The *rūpasūtra* is the science of coinage and currency. In his note on *rūpasutta* (Mv. I. 49. 2), Buddhaghosa says that the learner must turn over and over many *kārṣāpaṇas*. Evidently it was an applied science and much of the knowledge was derived empirically. The shroffs who by observing the stamp marks could at once tell from which place any particular coin came (Visuddhimagga) were versed in the lore. So were the *rūpadarśaka* of the Arthaśāstra and the *rūpatarka* of Patañjali entrusted with the inspection of coins. The science treated of (1) the metallic composition of coins, (2) their shape and technique, (3) their devices and places of manufacture and circulation, (4) the mint, (5) the offices connected with manufacture of coins and regulation of currency, (6) detection of counterfeit coins, (7) and above all making a revenue by inflation and sophistication. The scope and importance of the subject makes it conceivable how it is worthy of serious study not only for a tradesman but also for a prince for the purposes of administration.³

¹ J. A. S. B., 1890, p. 182.

² J. B. O. R. S., 1919, pp. 16 f. See also Bhandarkar : *op. cit.*, pp. 164 f.

³ D. R. Bhandarkar; *op. cit.*, p. 166.

BOOK V

OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Yathā nu kho imāni bhante puthu-sippāyatanāni-seyyathīdam hatthārohā assārohā rathikā dhanuggahā celakā calakā piṇḍa-dāvikā uggā rājaputtā pakkhandino mahānāgā sūrā cammayodhino dāsakaputtā ālārikā kappakā nahāpakā sudā mālākārā rajakā pesakārā naḷakārā kumbhakārā gaṇakā muddikā yāni vā pan' aññāni pi evaṃ gatāni puthu-sippāyatanāni—te diṭṭh'eva dhamme sandiṭṭhikaṃ sippa-phalaṃ upajīvanti, te tena attānaṃ sukhenti pīṇenti mātāpitaro sukhenti pīṇenti puttadāraṃ sukhenti pīṇenti mittāmacce sukhenti pīṇenti samaṇabrāhmaṇesu uddhaggikaṃ dakkhiṇaṃ patitṭhāpentī sovaggikaṃ sukhavipākaṃ sagga-saṃvattanikaṃ.

Sāmaññaphala Sutta, Dīgha nikāya.

There are Sir, a number of ordinary crafts :—elephant-drivers, horsemen, charioteers, archers, standard-bearers, camp marshalls, camp followers, high military officers of royal birth, military scouts, men brave as elephants, champions, heroes; warriors in buckskin, home-born slaves, cooks, barbers, bath-attendants, confectioners, garland-makers, washermen, weavers, basket-makers, potters, arithmeticians, accountants, and whatsoever others of like kind there may be. All these enjoy, in this very world, the visible fruits of their craft. They maintain themselves and their parents and children and friends in happiness and comfort. They keep up gifts, the object of which is gain on high, to recluses and Brāhmaṇas,—gifts that lead to rebirth in heaven, that redound to happiness, and have bliss as their result.

CHAPTER I

SERVICES AND ROYAL ENTOURAGE

Occupations outside the *Vārttās*. King's officers,—*amacca*, *rājabhogga*, *rājanna*, 'seventh caste.' The senior *amaccas*,—*senāpati*, *purohita*, *mahāseṭṭhi*, *gandhabba*. The second grade,—*uparāja*, *rajjuka*, *voḥārika*, *bhaṇḍāgārika*. The *adhyakṣas*,—of elephants, of horses, of cows; others, animal-doctors. The *agghāpaka* or court-valuer. The *nagaraguttika* or police commissioner. Spies. Clerks. Lower incumbents. The bather and shampooer. Specialists. Artists and technicians.

Bureaucracy of the *Arthaśāstra*. The grades. Military and espionage service. Benefits. Payment by cash and by assignment of revenue.

The four familiar *vārttās* did not comprise all the occupations of the people. Men had to seek their livelihood beyond the old Sāstric horizon of agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade (including industries) and usury. The palace and the administration developed a crop of offices and servants. A number of independent professions crystallised to meet the complex demands of urban life. Civilisation also produced its scums and dregs, the outlaws and the underworld of society. In a speech to Ajātasattu Makkali Gosāla refers to as many as 4,900 kinds of occupation (*ājiva*) (Dn. II. 21).

The services in the palace and under the state provided a large number of people. The highest officers in govern-

ment service were the *amaccas* who were King's officers generally, though not always recruited from the same family, often the son succeeding the father (*amaccakula*. II. 98, 125). "The *amaccas* form a class by themselves which is generally hereditary, and in consequence of this hereditary character, to which probably, as in the case of the Khattiyas, a specially developed class-consciousness is joined, possesses a certain though distant resemblance

with a caste." ¹ The *rājabhogga*, people in king's pay and service, similarly represent a class wider than the *amacca*, inasmuch as they include also the lower officers. They are mentioned as a class along with Khattiyas, Brāhmaṇas and Gahapatis in the Vinaya (Pātimokkha, Nisaggiya 10) and appear to be synonymous with the *rājañña* (Assalāyana Sutta). In the light of the Pali evidence, Megasthenes is supported while stating the high civil servants as a caste. "The seventh caste consists of the counsellors and assessors of the king. To them belong the offices of state, the tribunals of justice and the general administration of public affairs" (Str. XV. i. 49).

Since administrative arrangements were not uniform in every country and in every age, titles and functions of officers differ. Some of these were common almost everywhere, others were peculiar to a particular state. In the Jātakas the number of *amaccas* is given at the conventional figure of 80,000 with a *senāpati* or commander-in-chief of king's forces at the top (*senāpatipamukhāni asitiamaccasahassāni*, V. 178). He also discharges peacetime functions like administration of justice (II. 186; Com. on the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta) and participates in legislation (V. 115). Not a lesser personality was the *purohita* who performs sacrifices (I. 334 ff.; III. 43 ff.; Ait. Br. VIII. 24), explains omens and trains up the heir-apparent (V. 127), a fatherly friend and adviser. He is very often seen in sole mastery of all affairs,—temporal and religious (*atthadhammānusāsake*, Jāt. II. 105, 125, 173; III. 21, 115, etc.). Along with the *purohita*, the *mahāsetthi* and the *gandhabba* are seniormost officers (*issarā*, I. 413). The former represented the industrial guilds to the court and assisted the king in framing his

The *amaccas* : senior officers.

¹ Fick: *Die Sociale Gliederung*.

industrial and commercial policy.¹ The *gandhabba* was the chief musician (III. 91). It is unlikely that he was accorded a rank equal to the chaplain and finance minister except with kings having a marked musical taste as for example, Samudragupta or Akbar.

Probably just below the topmost rung was the *uparāja* or governor in a province or district (II. 367). He did not always represent a king; sometimes he was deputed by a republican government as in the case of the Sakiyas and the Koliyas (V. 412 f.). In the Maurya empire, princes of royal family were selected as viceroys of its five provinces and the practice may have been borrowed from earlier times.

The *rajjugāhaka amacca* (II. 367) or *rajjuka* was the survey and settlement officer. In the *Arthaśāstra* the survey tax is called *rajju* and in the *Jātakas* the officer appears with the rope for measuring lands. Bühler identifies him with the *rājuka* in Aśoka's inscription on whom Hultzsch observes: "The Rājuka originally 'held the rope' in order to measure the fields of the ryots and to assess the land tax. Thus the word became the designation of a revenue settlement officer, just as in British India the chief administrative officer of a district is still called 'collector' because his special duty is the collection of revenue."² Much earlier than the times of Aśoka and of the composition of the *Jātakas* the original surveyor had become the 'driver of the chariot of state.' The *rajjugāhaka amacca* is holder of the reins of government and of the rope of survey. The *rajjukas* or *rājukas* are probably the *agronomoi* of Megasthenes, the country magistrates who "superintend the rivers, measure the land as is done in Egypt and inspect the sluices, by which water is let out from the main channels into their branches"

¹ For discussion of his functions see *supra*, pp. 262 f.

² *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, p. xli.

and who "collect the taxes" (Str. XV. i. 50). In the Arthaśāstra, the settlement and revenue officer is the *samāhartṛ*.

The *vinicchayāmacca* (Jāt. II. 181, 301) or the *vohārika mahāmatta* (Mv. I. 40. 3; Cv. VI. 4. 9) is the chief justice and law officer. He tries civil suits and settles points of law when asked to give opinion (Jāt. II. 367, 380). In the Arthaśāstra, the judicial officer is the *vyavahārika*.

The head of the treasury is the *bhaṇḍāgārika* and with him went the judgeship of all the merchant guilds (*sabbasenīnaṃ vicāraṇārahaṃ bhaṇḍāgārikatṭhānaṃ nāma adāsi*).¹ This is marked as an innovation. "Before that no such office had existed, but there was this office ever after" (IV. 43). Elsewhere this officer figures next in rank to the *senāpati* and higher than *setṭhi*. The treasurer or keeper of king's purse is sometimes known also as *heraññaika* (III. 193).

There is an inspector of king's jewels (*maṇipabhaṃsa-*
nam kammam karonto, VI. 383) parallel
The *adhyakṣas*. to the *suvarṇādhyakṣa* of the Arthaśāstra.
His function was the testing of jewels for the palace.

Quite respectable but presumably below this second rank, were the *adhyakṣas* or departmental heads of whom the Arthaśāstra enumerates twenty-one. They are not, however, excluded from the purview of the Epics. The *adhyakṣas* of elephants and of horses released their animals from the stables when the Vānaras set fire to the city of Lamkā (Rām. VI. 75. 27). Nala was appointed superintendent of stables to king Rṭuparṇa at the pay of 10,000 (Mbh. III. 67. 6).

The *adhyakṣas* presuppose an advanced and complicated administration which is unknown to the mass of Jātaka stories. But so far at least as the elephants and horses

¹ Pick renders "worthy of the regard of all guilds."

are concerned, they give the social and administrative setting in which such offices might develop. They betray a consciousness, no less than the *Arthaśāstra*, of the utility of these two animals in the service and protection of the state. The *hatthidamaka*, the *assadamaka* and *godamaka* are the trainers of the three animals respectively (I. 505), and the *assagopaka* (II. 301) is the keeper of horses. A short but interesting description is given of how the *hatthidamaka* trains this animal in the arts of war (Mn. 125) and fights king's battles with it (Jāt. II, 413). Arts of catching wild elephants by means of tame ones are also briefly noticed (Mn. 125) which are so elaborately described by Megasthenes and fully known in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.¹ The sons of these trainers, by dint of specialised knowledge, succeeded to their father's post (Jāt. II. 94, 98, 221; Dn. IX. 32). Elephant-lore (*hatthisuttam*) and horselore (*assasuttam*) were cultivated as separate branches of learning (Jāt. II. 46) and specialists in this knowledge bear the honorifics of *hatthācariya* and *assācariya* (I. 413, 444; II. 20, 98). Even the elephant-doctors (*hatthivejja*) were in king's service, foreshadowing the lengthy dissertations of Megasthenes and Aelian on the diseases of these animals and the specifics and treatment adopted by experts.

The *agghāpaka* or court-valuer, assessed the price of goods ordered for the palace.² The *nagaraguttika*, or town warden was charged with the arrest and execution of outlaws (III. 59, IV. 289). On receiving a complaint from townsfolk, a king orders him to post patrols at intervals and have the burgler caught (*nagaraguttikaṃ*

¹ Some elephants strolling in a lotus park saw some men riding on elephants lasso in hand and said "we are less afraid of fire, lasso or other weapons than of these selfish kinsfolk who show the way to trap us to the elephant-tamers" (VI. 16. 6-8).

² See *supra*, pp. 269f.

ānāpettā tattha tattha gumbam thapetvā.....III. 436). He was like the Police Commissioner of the modern city. "Judging from the insecurity which on account of frequent mention of robbers and thieves in the Jātakas and other folk-literature must have existed in Indian cities in ancient times, he was no small personage."¹

The police officer of the Jātakas was not assisted by spies. The Jātakas have no department or officers corresponding to the elaborate espionage system of the Arthaśāstra or of the Mauryas,— "the sixth caste," in which "the best and most trustworthy men are appointed" and to whom "is entrusted all that goes on, and of making reports privately to the king." (Str. XV. i. 48).

Less commonly than now, but not unoften the educated young bourgeoisie settled down in clerical jobs of the secretariat. A *kulaputta* makes his living by being a clerk of the signet (*muddāya*), clerk of accout (gaṇanāya) or computer (*saṃkhāyena*)² (Mn. 13; Dn. II. 14) or he may be the king's scribe (*rājālipikāra*, *lekhaka*, Sanchi Ins.; Nasik C.I., 16. vii; 26, viii; Arth. II. 10). Hence also *muddā*, *gaṇanā* and *lekhā* are among the esteemed arts (*ukkaṭṭham nāma sippam*) in contrast to the lower ones of basket-maker, potter, weaver, cobbler and barber (*Suttavibhanga*, *Pācittiya*, II. 2. 1).

Below these was a lot of petty officials and mediocrities, viz., the *bandhanāgārīka* or the gaoler who figures in an unenviable company of people given to tormenting others (Mn. 51, 60; An. II.

¹ Fick : *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

² In the Arthaśāstra, the *saṃkhyāyaka* is among the village officers who may be remunerated with land without power of alienation (II. 1). Cultivation of statistics and numerical methods (*saṃkhā*, Mil. 59) developed primarily from the need of a crop forecast for assessment purposes.

207 ; III. 382), the *doṇamāpaka* or corn-measurer, *i.e.*, a tax-collector under the *rajjuka* and presumably the same as the *balipatiggāhaka* and the *niggāhaka* who appear as blackguards of royal extortion¹; the *sārathi* or driver of king's chariot (Jāt. II. 265, 367); the *dovārika* or the door-keeper (II. 241, 367 ; Mil. 234, 240, 264 ; Mn. 56) among whom were door-keepers of the palace and gate-keepers of the city. A palace *dovārika* appears in the unfortunate rôle of being thrashed with blows by a whimsical king every time he went in and out. The city *dovārikas* were four, one at each gate (Jāt. IV. 289) who watched the gates and closed them at night in a particular hour after shouting thrice to warn those who inadvertantly kept out (II. 379). The *dauvārika* who figures in the highest rank of officialdom in the Arthaśāstra must have been some other functionery.

The various petty officials of the civil and military staff cannot be exhausted by enumeration. We have the *chattaggāha* (parasol-bearer) and the *asiggāha* (sword-bearer), personally attending to the king (Jāt. VI. 194). Among people who gain their livelihood in dependence on the king (*vañño khattiyassa muddhavasitassa.....rājūpajivine jane*) are the *anikaṭṭha* (bodyguard), *pārisajja* (courtiers), *bhaṭa* (soldiers), *balattha* (royal messengers), etc. (Mil. 234, 240, 264). The list may be extended from "the people who enjoy the visible fruits of their craft in this world" *viz.*, the *hatthāroha* (elephantman) *assāroha* (horseman), *rathika* (chariotman), *dhanuggaha* (archer), *chelaka* (standard-bearer), *calaka* (camp marshal), *piṇḍa-dāvika* (camp-follower), *cammayodhina* (warrior in buckskin), etc. (Dn. II. 14). Among menials further below are *ālarika* (cook), *nahāpaka* (bathman), *sudā* (confectioner), *mālākāra* (garland-maker) and *rajaka* (washerman) (*Ibid.*)²

¹ See *supra*, p. 142.

² The renderings are Rhys David's.

Toilet, coiffure and shampooing were very common luxuries and hence the barber (*sīsapasādhana-kappako*, Jāt. II. 190 ff.) and the bather (*nahāpaka*) had a good demand for their services (I. 342). The bathman's art is thus drawn in a parable: "Just as a skilful bathman or his apprentice (*nahāpako vā nahāpakantevāsi vā*) will scatter perfumed soap-powder (*nahāniya cunnāni ākiritvā*) in a metal basin, and then besprinkling it with water drop by drop, will so knead it together that the ball of lather, taking up the unctuous moisture, is drenched with it, pervaded by it, permeated by it within and without, and there is no leakage possible" (Dn. II. 76). The process of bathing includes shampooing, rubbing oil, bathing with a fine powder and then costly garland, unguents and garments (XXIII. 9; cf. XVII. i. 23); Mn. 124; Rām. II. 65. 8; 83. 14).

Sometimes services of specialists were necessary for assisting the military or the police. And they had to be offered a high status and handsome remuneration. Archers (*dhanuggaha*) capable of exhibition performance are given wages of 100,000 a year (II. 87) and 1,000 *kahāpaṇas* daily (V. 128)—inequitously high, so as to make the old archers jealous. 1,000 pieces a fortnight was however reasonable at which rate another is taken into royal service and deputed to kill wild animals affecting travellers and to fight battles (I. 357). So a youth skilled in tracking footsteps is appointed by a king at the daily wages of 1,000 pieces (IV. 43).

A good number of artists and artisans were maintained in the palace for beautification, entertainment and more useful works, e.g., the *uyyānapāla* (II. 345) or *ārāmika* (III. 365) or park-keeper who was well posted in the art of gardening and sometimes conceived and worked out royal parks (Rām. VII. 52. 7); the dancers, the musicians, the actors, the bards, the

Specialists.

Artists & technicians.

astrologers, the sooth-sayers, etc., who were maintained with regular allowances in every court. The king had skilled artisans of all varieties for construction of forts, ships, armaments, etc., and for the working of mines, fisheries and other royal industries. The Jātaka commentary says that the king keeps artisans (*e.g.*, *vaddhakim*) to make instruments necessary for the exercise of *virīya* or for good and bad acts (V. 242). Nārada exhorts Yudhiṣṭhira to give artisans under his employ raw materials and wages with strict regularity.

dravyopakaraṇaṃ kiñcit sarvadā sarvaśilpinām
cātur māsyāvaram samyak niyataṃ samprayacchasi

Mbh. II. 5. 118.

The bureaucracy conceived in the Arthaśāstra is much more elaborate and complex than the small officialdom of the Pali canon. It gives a hierarchical structure with precise classification of officials in order of their salary and rank (V. 3).

The services of the
Arthaśāstra.

The *ṛtvik* (sacrificial priest), the *ācārya* (teacher), the *mantrī* (chief minister), the *purohita* (chaplain) and the *senāpati* (commander-in-chief) are accorded equality with the *yuvarāja* (heir-apparent), the *mātr* (queen mother), and the *rājamahiṣī* (chief queen) in the civil list each drawing 48,000 *paṇas* per annum.

The *dauvārika* (?), the *antarvaṃśika* (superintendent of harem), the *praśāstr* (commander), the *samāhartṛ* (collector-general) and the *sannidhātṛ* (chamberlain) are each to draw 24,000.

The *nāyaka* (chief constable), the *paura* (city officer), the *vyavahārika* (judge), the *karmāntika* (superintendent of manufactories), the *mantripariṣad* (members of ministerial council), the *rāṣṭrāntapāla* (superintendents of countryparts and of boundaries) along with a prince (*kumāra*) and a prince's mother (*kumāramātr*),—12,000.

These high scales of salary are fixed with a view to provide against temptation and discontent. "With this they will be loyal and powerful supporters of the king's cause,"—*svāmiparibandha-balasahāyā hyetāvatā bhavanti*.

Srenīmukhyāḥ (army chiefs) and chiefs of elephants, horses, chariots and infantry and the *pradeṣṭāraḥ* (commissioners) get 8,000 each. This is fixed with an eye to allowing them a good following in their sphere (*svavargānukarṣiṇo*).

The *adhyakṣas* of infantry, cavalry, chariotry and elephantry and keepers of timber and elephant forests (*dravya-hasti-vanapālāḥ*)—4,000.

The chariot-driver (*rathika*), the army-physician (*anika-cikitsaka*), the horse-trainer (*assadamaka*), the carpenter (*vardbaki*), the animal-keepers (*yoṇipoṣakāḥ*)—2,000.

The *kartāntika* (foreteller), the *naimittika* (reader of omens), the *mauhūrtika* (teller of good or bad times), the *paurāṇika* (annalist), the *sūta* (story-teller), the *māgadha* (bard), *purohita-puruṣāḥ* (retinue of the priest) and *sarvādhyakṣāḥ* (departmental superintendents)—1,000.

Trained soldiers (*śilpavantaḥ pādātāḥ*), staff of computers and scribes (*saṃkhyāyaka lekhakādivargaḥ*), and village officer (*grāmabhṛtaka*)—500; trumpet-blowers (*tūryakāra*)—300; actors (*kuśīlava*)—150; skilled artisans (*kāruśilpināḥ*)—120.

Servants in charge of quadrupeds and bipeds (*catuspada-dvipada-paricāraka*), miscellaneous workmen (*pārikarmika*), attendants upon royal person (*upasthāyika*), bodyguards (*pālaka*), procurers of forced labour (*viṣṭivandhaka*)—60.

King's playmate (*āryayukta*), elephant-driver (*ārohaka*), sorcerer (*māṇavaka*), miner in mountains (*śailakhanaka*), all kinds of attendants (*sarvopasthāyināḥ*), teacher (*ācariya*), scholars (*vidyāvantaḥ*) shall have honoraria (*pīyāvetana*) ranging from 500 to 1,000 according to merit.

A messenger (*dūta*) of middle quality shall get 10 *paṇas* for each *yojana* he travels, twice as much when he travels

from 10 to 100 *yojanas*. For spies, schedules vary from 250 to 1,000.

The above list excludes the *gopas* or census officers and *sthānikas* or revenue officers under the *samāhartr*. Their work is inspected by the *pradestr*s or commissioners deputed by the *samāhartr* (II. 35). The *nāgaraka* looks after the affairs of the capital (II. 36).

The huge espionage system in the Arthaśāstra's conception of state with its wide ramifications over the whole body-politic is a sad commentary on the moral of the bureaucracy. The higher officers are constantly to be watched with spies lest they stray into sedition and disloyalty and for the dirty job are exploited the lower servants of the household—the *suḍa* (sauce-maker), *arālika* (cook), *snāpaka* (bather), *saṃvāhaka* (shampooer), *āstaraka* (spreader of bed), *kalpaka* (barber), *prasādhaka* (toilet-maker), *udakaparicāraka* (water-carrier), and *rasada* (juice-maker) (I. 12).

Superintendents of 100 or 1,000 *vargās* (groups of staff) shall regulate the subsistence, wages, profit, appointment and transfer (*bhaktavetanalābham ādesam vikṣepam ca kuryuḥ*). Officers employed to guard royal buildings, forts and countryparts will never be transferred.

The officials of the Arthaśāstra enjoy the benefits of gratuity, bonus and insurance against sickness. “Sons and wives of those who die in service shall get subsistence and wages. Infants, aged persons or diseased persons related to deceased servants shall also be shown favour. During funeral, sickness or childbirth, the king shall give presentation to the servants concerned.”

Karmasu mṛtānām putradārā bhaktavetanam labheran. Bālavṛddhavyādhiścaīṣām anugrāhyāḥ. Pretavyādhitasutikākṛtyeṣu caiṣāmarthamānakarma kuryāt—V. 3.

The Arthaśāstra lays down a very healthy maxim with regard to the payment of the officers from the point of view of the state. Although the *adhyakṣa*, the *saṃkhyāyaka*, the *gopa* and the *sthānika* are among the village officials who may be remunerated with land without power of alienation (II. 1), later in the Book, the author is more cautious. “When short of funds, the king may pay with forest produce, cattle or fields along with a small amount of money (*hiranyam*). If he wants to colonise waste land he shall pay in money alone (*śūnyam vā niveśayitum abhyutthito hiraṇyameva dadyāt*). But if he wants to regulate the affairs of all villages equally, then no villages will be given (*na grāmaṃ grāmasajātavyavahāra-sthāpanārtham*, V. 3). The economist-statesman no doubt profited by the experience of earlier days. The baneful practice common in the Jātakas, of paying the high officers of state like the *purohita*, the *senāpati*, etc., with grants of land or revenues from villages, was telling upon its authority and financial security. The effect was no doubt hardly different from the reaction of the Jaigir system on the great Mughal Empire.

CHAPTER II

INDEPENDENT PROFESSIONS

Teaching profession.—Centres of learning. Applied education. Fees.
 Artistic professions.—Singer and music-player. Actor, troupes. Bards, mimes,
 etc. Stigmatisation.
 Occult professions.—Astrologer. Soothsayer. Palmist, etc.
 Miscellaneous.

1. *Teaching Profession*

Besides the services there were independent professions in which people lived by purveying their skill or knowledge for a fee. Among these the teaching profession was the most respectable though not the most paying. Unlike most others it was a settled profession localised, as in the case of the arts and crafts, in particular cities. Benares was such a centre of learning (Jāt. I. 463). A northern Brāhmaṇa, after learning all the arts becomes a teacher of world-wide fame at Benares and teaches 500 pupils (Bodhisatto udiccabrāhmaṇakule nibbattitvā vayappatto sabbasippe pāraṃ gantvā Bārāṇasiyaṃ disāpāmoḁkha ācariyo hutvā pañcasate mānase sippaṃ vācesi, I. 436). Sometimes the professor repaired to the forest for the isolation and seclusion it gave to academic pursuits. A world-famed teacher (disāpāmoḁkho ācariyo) of Benares teaching *sippas* to 500 pupils goes into the forest to avoid hindrances to religious life and to the studies of his pupils and he is supplied free by people of adjoining locality with rice, milch cow and other gifts (III. 537). The passage represents ancient Indian education with its best ideals and most realistic setting. Religious and academic life were inseparable and the teacher in his own person set up the standard of

character and proficiency. The sacred and solemn pursuit of learning was carried in his sylvan nook, at safe distance from the humdrum of the town; and the people made it their duty to feed and subsidise the institution submitting for the purpose to a voluntary education cess.

Education at teacher's house was prone to generate a narrowness and obscurantism among the students. To obviate this and to supplement the theoretical training received, students on their way back after completion of the course travelled through *gāmas* and *nigamas* to gain first-hand knowledge of the applied arts of different times and local customs (*sabbasamayasiṭṭhañ ca sikkhissāma desacariṭṭhañ ca jānissāma*, III. 238; IV. 39; V. 247, 426).

The collegiate course in Manu ranges from 9 or less to 36 years. The number of pupils in the Jātakas is conventionally given as 500 with each preceptor. Free education and board were sometimes provided for penniless lads by the people of a town (I. 239). Much more reputed than Benares as a university town was Taxila. Prodigies like Pāṇini, the grammarian, Kauṭilya, the economist-politician and Jīvaka, the physician, it claimed in its alumni. In the Jātakas, Takkaṣilā is a great centre of learning with reputed teachers where pupils went from Benares (I. 317, 356, 510).

The Brāhmanic ideal was not to accept any money fee from students (Mbh. I. 64. 20; XIII. 23. 73, 135. 14; XIV. 56. 22; Manu, III. 156, XI. 63; cf. Jāt. I. 340). Gifts in kind are however permitted (Manu, II. 245f) besides personal service. The teacher might claim as fee of his pupil his thumb (Mbh. I. 134) or his (teacher's) enemy to be brought captive to him (I. 140). In the Pali works teachers are almost invariably paid in cash with a honorarium conventionally given at 1,000 pieces for a whole course (Jāt. I. 285; II. 47, 278; IV. 38; V. 128; Mil. 10). A pupil who pays his teacher 7 *nikkhas* (of gold) procured by begging after the course is finished, thinks the sum inade-

quate and strains further to procure more (IV. 224). Of course personal attendance was the alternative to money fee. But it is given with the *naïveté* characteristic of the Jātakas that the givers of *acariyabhāga* were 'treated like the eldest son' and taught with great care while the *dhammantevāsikas* were neglected and worked hard (II. 278). Teachers were not always considerate to their pupils (*duḥkhābbijño hi gurukulavāsasya śiṣyān parikleśena yojayitum neyeṣa*, Mbh. I. 3. 81) and many failed the lofty ideal of sacrifice and renunciation propounded in the Smṛtis.

2. Artistic Professions

The musical and artistic professions reflect widely separated social scales. A master singer might rise to the highest position in the court along with a Chaplain and the General. Generally he let himself for hire to the public. Guttila who was born in a musician's family (*gandhabbakule*) and took up the trade (*gandhabbasippa*, II. 248), plays his instrument for a fee and thus makes his living (*mayam.....gandhabbā nāma sippam nissāya jīvāma, mūlam labhantā vādeyyāma*, 254). Mūsila, the musician tries to entertain some traders on journey for hire but failing with his lyre (*vīṇā*) returns the money (II. 248). Another *gandhabba* hired by some sailors for free passage sings with his lyre (*vīṇā*, III. 188). Generally he gave his performances at public shows like the drummer (*bherivāda*, I. 283) and the conch-blower (*saṃkha-dhamana*, I. 284; Dn. XXIII. 19) who made money with their instruments at the public fairs and festivals.

Musicians, like actors, were sometimes travelling troupes staging their exhibitions jointly. Vṛhaspati lays down that the chief musician who beats time (*tālaṇṇa*) should get $1\frac{1}{2}$ share of the rest of the company (XIV. 30). Companies of actors (*nartaka*) are also noticed in this code. Such a company of *naṭas* was engaged by the courtesan Sāmā with 1,000 pieces to sing among crowds. "There is no place

that you do not visit. Go then to every village, town and city and gathering a crowd around you first of all sing this song in the midst of the people."

tumhākam agamanaṭṭhānam nāma n'atthi, tumhe gāma-nigamarājadhāniyo gantvā samajjam katvā samajjamaṇḍale paṭhamam eva imam gītam gāyeyya, Jāt. III. 61.

Elder Tālaputa was born in an actor's family, acquired proficiency at theatres suited to his clan (kulanurūpesu naccaṭṭhānesu) and "became well-known all over India as leader of a company of actors. With a company of 500 women and with great dramatic splendour he attended festivals in village, township and royal residence and won much fame and favour. He was giving performance at Rājagaha (nagaravāsinam samajjam dassitvā) with his usual success" (Therag. 1090ff. Com.). Such a party of actors (śailālaka) lived in Mathurā in the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Christian era whose sons figure as dedicators in a Jaina inscription from that place.¹

For the actor the professional name was *kuśīlava*,—*naṭa* or *naṭaka* being the more generic term inclusive of all sorts of artists—the actor, musician, dancer, acrobat and magician. The Arthaśāstra is suspicious that the actors' visits may affect the sobriety and thriftiness of the people. At night they are to stay in a particular place and avoid accepting lavish gifts of desire or causing too much loss to any one (kāmadānamatimātram ekasyātipātam ca varjayeyuh). For dereliction, the fine is 12 *paṇas*. They may hold their performances to their liking in accordance with

¹ On this Bühler has the following note in the *Epigraphia Indica*, I. 43 :

"It is impossible to interpret Śailālaka otherwise than as a synonym of Śailālin which according to Pāṇini, IV. 3. 110 originally was a name of those actors who studied the sūtras of Śilālin and according to the Kośas was used later to denote any actor.....It further shows that play-acting was then, as in the present day, the business of particular families—a fact which may also be inferred from the introduction to several Sanskrit dramas where the *naṭī* is sometimes called the wife of the Sūtradhāra and his brothers are mentioned as actors. In a Jaina story of the clever boy Bharata we hear even of a *naṭagrāma*....."

the procedure of their country, caste, family, profession, copulation and language (kāmaṃ deśajātigotra carāṇa-maithunāvabhāsenā namayeyuḥ, IV. 1).

With the actor and the musician, the mime, the bard and the story-teller belonged to the same category. They all maintained a peripatetic living, moved in troupes or individually, gave demonstrations and shows in public gatherings and were accorded the same social status. They moved with their women (Rām. II. 83. 15) and if the Śāstra injunctions are to be believed, had a very low standard of morals. Adultery is permitted to wives of *cāraṇas* (actors and singers according to the Commentary) "for such men send their wives (to others) or, concealing themselves, allow them to hold criminal intercourse" (Manu, VIII. 362; Baudh. II. 2. 4. 3). No wonder the professions are condemned (Mbh. XIII. 90. 11) or assigned to the Śūdra (Arth. I. 3). The *kuśilavas* (bards, actors, jugglers, dancers, singers and so forth—Medh.) are unworthy of invitation to a *śrāddha* (Manu, III. 155-53); food given by the actor and musician is not acceptable (IV. 210, 214). Actors and teachers of dancing, singing and acting are stigmatised as *upapātakins* (Baudh. II. 1. 2. 13). Public dancers and actors are all condemned (I. 5. 10. 24; Viṣ. XXXVII. 32, LI. 13f; Nār. III. 3; Vṛ. XXII. 3).

3. Occult Professions

A large mass of professionals thrived upon the superstition and credulity of the people by the exercise of the occult arts. Even in the court which attracted the best intelligence and talents of the land the services of the *nakṣhaṭṭajānaka* (astrologer) and the *nemittaka* (reader of omens) are frequently requisitioned to give their studies upon problems (VI. 5). There were also interpreters of dream (*supinapāṭhaka*, V. 443) and of signs (*lakṣhaṇapāṭhaka*, VI. 9) who give bogus readings. The practice of

these pseudo-sciences is damned in the Smṛtis probably because of the superstitions and public deception they encouraged. Among the black list of disreputables are the palmist (Mbh. XIII. 90. 7), the astrologer (Manu, III. 162, Viṣ. LXXXII. 7; Nār. I. 183), the weather-prophet (Nār. I. 183), interpreters of omens and practitioners of propitiatory rites (Vṛ. XXII. 3). The guises of a *kārtāntika* of a *naimittika* or of a *mauhūrtika* are helpfully taken by spies in the Arthaśāstra (IV. 4; XIII. 1).

Miscellaneous

There were professional wrestlers (mallayuddhakā, IV. 81; mallā, Mil. 331) who fought duels in the ring before the gallery (Jāt. VI. 276). With the *naṭa* the *jhallas* and the *mallas* ('fencers with sticks or wrestlers and jesters,' Com.) are relegated to the lowest class (Manu, XII. 45). There were bathers who did the customer shampooing and massage with oil; then a good bath with sponge, powder and water and lastly a nice toilet with brush, garlands, scents and dress. There were ferrymen (nāviko) who forded people across a river for a fee (vetanam) which it was foolish to ask for *after* crossing (Jāt. III. 230). A more honourable and skilful profession was archery, the expert hiring himself out for exhibition shooting or for some act of prowess (III. 219 ff; V. 128 ff; Mn. 13; An. IV. 423).

Except for the teacher, the soothsayer and occasionally a good musician or an archer, all these people ranked in the economic scale below the average. Their social position was accordingly adjusted. They performed no direct productive functions in economic society but they supplied amusements and entertainments, the much-needed tonics of laughter, humour, thrill and romance. Further below were other plebeian professions stigmatised in Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical canon, in theoretical as well as in popular literature.

CHAPTER III

BAD LIVELIHOOD

Greek observers on public morality.

1. Gangster and thief : tribal bands, ransom gangs, pilferers, cattle-lifting Gang-laws. Detection and punishment.
 2. Hired assassin. 3. Forger. 4. Impostor. 5. Sorcerer.
 6. Gambler : gambling and betting. Perils of gambler. Licensing, revenue.
 7. Tavern-keeper : drinking and dissipation, liquors. Crime-centres. Revenue.
 8. Brothel-keeper.
 9. Prostitute : two categories. Fees. Manners and morals. Public esteem. Reveue and espionage.
- The underworld and the state.

Megasthenes and the Greek memoirists in the Macedonian army observed Indians to be habitual teetotallers and conspicuous for truthfulness and honesty. "They are not litigious. Witnesses and seals are unnecessary when a man makes a deposit; he acts in trust. Their houses are usually unguarded." In Sind, says Onesicritus, no legal action could be taken except for murder and assault. "We cannot help being murdered or assaulted, whereas it is our fault if we give our confidence and are swindled. We ought to be more circumspect at the outset and not fill the city with litigation" (Str. XV. i. 709, 702).

The report derived no doubt from hearsay, or from a parochial or superficial acquaintance, militates with every piece of Indian evidence, theoretical or popular. It conflicts even with the Greek ambassador's own statement that theft from royal treasury or evasion of toll dues were punished with death. The outlaw and the underworld, anti-social institutions and foul means of livelihood ran rampant as everywhere but under sufficient cover to escape the notice of a casual observer.

1. Gangster and thief

In those days of insecurity, the robber was public enemy No. 1. An Aṅgulimāla was alone enough to scare a whole country like Magadha and a redoubtable King like Ajātasattu. A single brigand sufficed to terrorise a whole city (Jāt. III. 59). There were widely varied types in this class ranging from the pettiest pilferer or solitary dare-devil to the highly organised and well-armed gangs.

The bands of freebooters, notorious in the Jātakas, who infested the outlying forests (III. 220; An. I. 69) where civil authority was weak and thrived by plundering passing travellers and caravans were in reality the old settlers of the land who were dispossessed but were intractable enough to submit to the Aryan fold. These half-savage, semi-barbarous tribes—the so-called *mlecchas*, occasionally broke into the settled tracts (*paccantagāme*) of their neighbours, and from there carried off prisoners for slaves (III. 147; IV. 220).¹ The robbers in a robber village go to the woods to attend to a visiting king (*coragāmakavāsino corāpi rañño ārakkhattāya araṇṇam eva pavisiṃsu*). The chieftain's wife goes about clad in leaves and branches (*sākhābhaṅgaṃ nivāsetvā carati*, Com. IV. 430 ff). They make human sacrifices to their deity (Therag. 705 ff). These tribal gangs had various methods of plundering people. They practised highway robbery and burglary (*panthadubbanasandhicchedādāni karanto jīvikam kappesi*, II. 388; *panthadūsakā*, Mil. 290) or they perpetrated gang actions on whole villages (*gāmaghātakā*; Mil. 290). Sometimes they gave an ultimatum and worked out the threat if the demand was not met (*pūrvakṛtāpadānam pratijñāya apaharantam*, Arth. IV. 8). Sometimes they hit upon a novel device which gave them a new appellation (*pesanakacorā*): when they caught two prisoners interested in one another,

¹ The Afridis of Waziristan offer a modern parallel.

e.g., a father and a son or a teacher and a pupil, they kept one and despatched the other to fetch a ransom (Jāt. I. 253 ; IV. 115).

Apart from the gangs, there were individual thieves and pilferers in the settled places, people who took to criminal activity from within the town and villages (III. 436, 514 ; Mn. 13, 129). A thief after breaking into a house in a suburban village flees with his hands full of plunder (*eko coro nagaradvāragāme ekasmim gehe sandhim chinditvā hatthasāraṃ ādāya palāyitvā* III. 33). Cattle-lifting was a chosen line of the small pilferers as well as of the big gangs (I. 140 ; IV. 251 ; VI. 335).

The strength of the gangs is conventionally given at 500. Like the industrial arts their trade was organised in village guilds of their own (*coragāma*) with a ringleader as head (*corajetṭhaka*, I. 297 ; II. 388 ; IV. 430). They had their own trade morals, their tribal or gang laws held sacrosanct as the laws of all guilds and races. In a robber village, a cook is rebuked by a loyal and wise parrot for contemning the robber's trade (*corakammam*, IV. 430ff). The *Arthaśāstra* lays down that transactions relating to robbery (*sāhasa*) are valid though done at night (III. 1). Quoting *Kātyāyana*, *Vivādaratnākara* says that thieves and robbers belonging to a guild are to divide their booty in the ratio 4 : 3 : 2 : 1 according to ability and if one of the gang is arrested money spent for his release is to be shared by all.

To handle the crime of outlawry, the state and the public had one maxim, not different from that of other ancient civilisations, *viz.*, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. When the people caught a suspect, rather than let justice have its own course, they preferred to take it in their own hands. They "bind his hands behind his back and lead him to the place of execution scourging him in every public square with whips" (*pacchābāham*

bandhitvā catukke catukke kasāhi taḷentā āghātanam nenti, III. 436). Very often the culprit succumbed to this first deal of justice (III. 514). If the man managed to reach the custodians of law and order, ruthless torture was resorted to for extorting confession (I. 384) with the result that innocent people were often victimised. The legend of Māṇḍavya occurring in the Kaṇhadipāyana Jātaka, in the Epics (Mbh. I. 63. 92, 107) and in the Arthaśāstra (IV.8) is a classical case. A thief escaped delivering his booty at the door of the ascetic; the latter, though innocent confessed his guilt from torture and was impaled. Yet an unscrupulous espionage system and relentless torture are enjoined in the Arthaśāstra to deal with these crimes (IV. 5, 6, 8).

After confirmation of guilt, the offender was punished by whipping, mutilation, impalement, death or other ingenious methods of torture gruesome in description (Mn. 13, 129; An. I. 46; II. 122; Sn. II. 128). The customary punishments for a *cora* are uprooting his eyes (cakkhuppāṭanam), impalement on a stake (sūlāropanam), and relieving the trunk of the head (sisacchedanam); and these do not exhaust all (Mil. 166, 185, 197). He may be thrown down from a cliff (corapapāta, Jāt. IV. 151). He may have his hands, feet, nose and ears cut off and drifted down a river in a canoe (II. 117). Death, in any case, was his sure destiny even if the offence was so small as to pick up a parcel from the high road (V. 459). Sometimes the people took not only the first but the final deal of justice with themselves and left a cattle-lifter cutting off his hands and feet (VI. 335). Megasthenes testifies to this system of torture and death sentence in the Maurya administration and Manu falls in line with the current tradition by prescribing for the thief capital punishment (IX. 270), mutilation or impalement (276f.; Viṣ. V. 136; Nār. Intr. 34; Vṛ. XXII. 17). Only the author of the

Arthaśāstra is enlightened enough to leave provision for fine which ranges from 12 to 96 *paṇas* according to the value of the articles stolen or robbed (III. 17). The pirate and the cattle-lifter alone do not deserve this leniency and have to pay the highest penalty, such a nuisance they had made of themselves (II. 29).

Was there no relief against the universal application of *lex talionis*? Even in the Jātakas were not unknown better methods of criminal investigation than forcing a suspect to disgorge guilt by torture (I. 384). We have seen a tracker of footsteps in action under a king (III. 505). The Arthaśāstra evinces the knowledge of various scientific processes like study of foot-prints and physical expressions, identification by the smell of body from a piece of rag left at the place of occurrence, etc. (IV. 6). Rāma's precept to Bharata was that a suspect should be convicted only when he is caught in action by the owner or by the police, or after cross-examination, although care should be taken that he did not obtain release by bribe (Rām. II. 57). The practice of impalement of robbers on a stake is referred to in a Jātaka story as "prevalent in those days" (III. 34), implying thereby that there might have been a change for the better when the story was crystallised. And enlightened statesmanship was not lacking like that of the counsellor who advised his king that against lawlessness and brigandage, taxation and punishment were not the right redress; the war has to be waged not against criminals but against the sources of crime, *viz.*, poverty, unemployment and discontent (Dn. V. 11).'

2. Hired Assassin

Rogues might be hired for murder. Devadatta employed cut-throats (II. 416) and archers (III. 97) for the murder of Buddha. The Arthaśāstra knows such

wretches (IV. 7). The hire charge for an assassination is 1,000 *kahāpaṇas* (Jāt. V. 126).

3. Forger

The forger (*pratirūpakāraka*, Mbh. XII. 59. 49) practised his evil art with false coins, gold, pearls, gems, etc. The *Arthaśāstra* evinces a good knowledge of his trade. A manufacturer of counterfeit coins (*kūṭapaṇakāraka*) may be suspected for frequently purchasing various kinds of metals, alkalis, charcoal, bellows, pincers, crucible, stove and hammers, having his hands and cloth dirty with ashes and smoke or possessing such other accessory instruments.

Yam vā nānālobakṣārāṇām aṅgāra-bhastra-saṁdamśa-mūṣikādhikaraṇīvitamkamūṣāṇāmabhīkṣṇam kretāram mūṣi-bhasmadhūmadigdhahastavasuliṅgam karmāropakaraṇasaṁvargam kūṭarūpakārakam manyeta.

He may be betrayed by a spy getting into apprenticeship under him. The culprit is to be banished. The same procedure and penalty is prescribed against the dealer of counterfeit gold who lowers its quality with alloy (*rāgasyāpahartā kūṭasuvarṇavyavahārī*). To utter a counterfeit coin into the treasury entails death sentence, and to deal with it, a fine of 1,000 *paṇas* (IV. 1, Munich MS.). According to *Bṛhaspati* forgers of gems, pearls or corals are to be tested by oath or ordeal (X. 1 ; XXII. 14).

4. Impostor

Sharppers and swindlers (*nekatikā*, *vañcanikā*, Mil. 290) who lived by blackmail were not as rare, nor as easily let off, as *Onesicritus* would have. A typical one is the robe-tailor (*civaravaddhako*) who cheats buyers by bartering new cloth with rag-made robes which “after the dyeing was done, he would enhance in colour with a wash containing

flour to make a dressing, and rub it with a shell, till he makes it quite smart and attractive " (Jāt. I. 220). Manu is very elaborate on the ferreting out of and dealing with all kinds of cheats, both open and concealed (IX. 257-62). According to the Śāntiparva a sinful wight living by deceit is to be ostracised or killed at sight (109. 23).

5. Sorcerer

The impostor appeared under a special garb with his practice of black arts. A typical diviner was Vaṅgīsa, a Brāhmaṇa of Sāvattbi who used to divine by tapping a skull where its former occupant was re-born (Therag. 1209 ff. Com.). The Arthaśāstra narrates various practices of witchcraft and sorcery meant to blackmail the people (V. 2). There was, *e.g.*, the *kuhaka* and the *sambodhanakāraka* who can secure a woman's love with magical charms (IV. 4). Manu punishes sorcery with a fine of 200 *paṇas* (IX. 290).

6. Gambler

Gambling in dice with jugglery and stakes (Jāt. VI. 280ff) was in high favour among all classes and it was the chief pastime in the palace (I. 289f), not excluding a pious king like Yudhiṣṭhira. Besides, there were habitual or professional gamblers (*dhuttā*, *akkhadhuttā*) in every city (Dn. XVII, i. 6, 29, 32; Mn. 87). Betting or wager over animal fights, races, etc., was another common custom. A Brahmana and a merchant bet to the tune of 1,000 pieces over the capacity of a draught bull (Jāt. I. 191f). There is a wager of 5,000 over a duel between a snake and a frog. One of the betters demands and obtains a surety (*paṭibhoga*) from his opponent (VI. 192). Aelian says that in the ox-race where an ox is yoked to a chariot between two horses, rich men and owners of oxen heavily betted and even the spectators against each other (XV. 8).

The evils of gambling and the deterioration in social status of the addict (of course when he was a small fry) are constantly harped upon by saner counsel. According to a discourse of Buddha the addiction (*jutappamādatthanānuyoga*) is one of the six channels of dissipating wealth and is accompanied by six dangers. "As winner he (the gambler) begets hatred ; when beaten, he mourns his wealth ; his actual substance is wasted ; his word has no weight in a court of law ; he is despised by friends and officials ; he is not sought after by those who would give or take in marriage, for they would say that a man who is a gambler cannot afford to keep a wife " (*Dn. XXXI. 7, 11*). The economist's sermon goes : " The same wealth that is won like a piece of flesh in gambling, causes enmity. Lack of recognition of wealth properly acquired, acquisition of ill-gotten wealth, loss of wealth without enjoyment, staying away from answering the call of nature and contracting diseases from not taking timely meals are the evils of gambling." Again, " gamblers always play even at night by lamp-light, and even when the mother (of one of the players) is dead ; the gambler exhibits temper when spoken to in times of trouble " (*Arth. VIII. 3*). Gamblers and keepers of gambling dens are sources of disorder to the state (*Mbh. XII. 88. 14*).

To maintain law and order, to check dissipation and deterioration of public morals, state regulation of gambling was called for. The state had further motives, the primary one of drawing a good revenue and accessory purposes like detection of crime. This means that it had its own gambling houses and that it levied from players a license fee, hire charge and share of the wins ; it issued license to private dens for a heavy fee and tax on the owner ; and it uprooted all unlicensed gambling with a firm hand.

According to the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, gambling houses (*tentaśāla*) licensed by the state were a feature of big towns.

In the Arthaśāstra the state itself carries on a lucrative traffic and centralises gambling through a Superintendent (dyūtādhyakṣo dyūtam ekamukhaṃ kārayet). The Superintendent levies 5 per cent. of stakes won, hire for supplying dice and other accessories, fee for supplying water and accommodation and license fee (karmakraya, II. 20). Brhaspati approves gambling and bets on prize fights (samāhvaya) with animals like birds, rams, deer, etc., because they serve the purpose of discovering thieves (XXVI. 2f). "The keeper of the gambling house shall receive the stakes and pay the victorious gambler and the king; he shall also act as witness in a dispute, assisted by three other gamblers" (*ib.* 8). Nārada has the same view on these institutions and adds that the keeper shall conduct the contests, pay the stakes won and get a profit of 10 per cent. on the wins (XVII. 1f; *cf.* Āpas. II. 10. 25. 12f; Yāj. II. 199f). As for private-owned dens, since the king is entitled to a share, licensing is necessary (Nār. XVII. 7f; Yāj. II. 201, 203; Śukranīti, I. Vy. 603-608). Only Manu wants gambling (dyūta) and betting (samāhvaya) to be extinguished, root and branch, and the gambler banished from the town (IX. 221-225).

7. Tavern-keeper

According to the Greeks the Indian diet was distinguished by the absence of wine which they took only in religious ceremonies; but rice beer was generally drunk (Str. XV. i. 709). The former part is borrowed from legal injunction or from those who observed it, the latter from a more popular practice. The drunkard (sonḍa) appears in the city side by side with the gambler (Dn. XVII. i. 6, 29, 32) dissipating wealth with the attendant six dangers (XXXI. 7f) and visiting the distiller or tavern-keeper (śauṇḍikāḥ, Rām. II. 83, 15; pānāgārika, Jāt. V. 13)

who prepares and caters a large variety of intoxicating liquors (*sura-meraya-majja*, Dn. XXXI. 7). The *Arthaśāstra* enumerates a long list (II. 25). Viṣṇu knows of thirteen, *viz.*, that distilled from sugar; *mādhvī* wine, that from flour, *mādhuka* wine, that from molasses, from the fruits of the *Ṭaṅka* tree, of the jujube tree, of the date-palm, of bread-fruit tree, from wine grapes, *mādhvīka* wine, *maireya* wine and the sap of cocoanut tree (XXII. 82f). According to Manu, *surā* is of three kinds—that distilled from molasses (*gaudī*), that distilled from ground rice, that distilled from *madhuka* (*mahuā*) flowers (*Kullūka*) or from honey (*Medhātithi*) or from flower, honey and grape (*Nārāyaṇa*) (*mādhvī*, XI. 95). According to the same commentators, *vāruṇī* is a special quality of *gaudī* and *mādhvī* (XI. 147). In popular parlance such technical distinctions were not always observed and *surā* and *vāruṇī* appear as of entirely different qualities. “A trader in spirits (*vāruṇī-vaṇijo*) having prepared fiery spirits (*tikhiṇā-vāruṇī*) and selling them, having received gold *suvanṇas*, etc., a number of people being gathered together (at the shop), he went in the evening to bathe, bidding his apprentice (*antevāsika*) in these words: “My man, do you, having taken the price (*mūlaṃ*), give the spirits” (*Jāt.* I.251).¹ This shows the popularity and dearness of *vāruṇī* especially of the strong brand in comparison with the *surā* which could be bought for a copper coin (I. 350).

The tavern was not only the main attraction for the dissipation of the wealthier classes, it was the breeder of crimes and the favourite haunt of criminals (V. 13). Cut-throats and thieves, after finishing their operations indulge in drinking bouts (II. 417, 427). Two tipplers drug spirits to rob the drunkards (*sāvatthiyam surādhuttā sannipatitvā mantayimsu*, I. 269). With the gambling house, the

¹ See the rederring by Mrs. Rhys Davids in J. R. A. S., 1901, pp. 876f. *fn.*, as opposed to Chalmers' in the Cambridge Edn.

brewery appears as a centre of civil disorder (Mbh. XII. 88. 14). Hence sale of liquor is among disreputable professions (295. 5f) and the seller is to be banished by the king from his town (Manu, IX. 225).

As a matter of fact such stern measures were very rarely taken. For like the gambling house, the tavern yielded profit and could be similarly used as a tool for espionage. The village lord who mourns the loss to his perquisites by the abstemious habits of his folk (Jāt. I. 199) may well have taken his cue from the state, and the other who forbids the sale of liquor in his village was a rare one in his class as exemplar of Buddhist piety (IV. 115). All the state (or its agents and parallels) did was to restrict or monopolise the traffic. In the Arthaśāstra the state itself is the biggest wine merchant. Others carrying on the trade have to obtain license and pay a heavy toll. Drinking is strictly regulated and is not allowed outside the booths which are set up at big intervals. State shops also serve as auxiliary to the espionage system (II.25). According to the Śukranīti the drinking house has to obtain king's license (I. v. 604).

8. Brothel-keeper

With the brewery, the brothel was in happy company with its brood of crimes and criminals (Mbh. XII. 88. 14). The pimp (strīvyavahārī) trading with the virtues of woman (Arth. II. 27 ; kuṇḍāśī, Mbh. XIII. 90. 7) and keeper of dancing girls (vaidehaka, raṅgastrījīvī, Mbh. XII. 37. 31) thrived eminently as parasite professions spreading crime and disease, bringing income to the state and serving as agents of the police.

9. Prostitute

The prostitute was the nadir of the underworld in whom all the vices and vicious institutions converged. She might

belong to different scales according as she was the *nagarasobhanā* or *gaṇikā* or as she was a *vaṇṇadāsi* (Jāt. II. 367ff). The former was the chief courtesan, literally 'the beauty of the town,' surrounded by a retinue of harlots in her establishment (Sulasā nāma nagarasobhani pañcasata-vaṇṇadāsi parivārā ahosi, III. 435). The courtesan Kali had a similar retinue (IV. 248). Ambapālikā of Vesālī and Sālavati of Rājagaha belonged to this rank (Mv. VIII. 1-3). The 500 *vaṇṇadāsis* and the 16,000 dancing girls (soḷasahassā nāṭakitthiyo) in the king's suite (III. 365; V. 190, 486) were of the same plebeian category. The Arthaśāstra classifies *gaṇikās* into those attached to royal court and public prostitutes (II. 27).

The customary fee for the chief courtesan of the town is 1,000 *kahāpaṇas* for a visit or a night (III. 59, 435, 475; IV. 248). The Arthaśāstra fixes 1,000 *paṇas* as the salary of the chief courtesan in king's service, probably per mensem. But this is only a conventional sum. Ambapālikā charges 50 for one night and Sālavati 100 (Mv. VIII. 1,3), we do not know whether in silver, gold or copper pieces. At the bottom of the scale, the lowest fee was a piece of betel (tāmbulamattam, II. 309, 379).

Further glimpse is obtained from the Jātakas, into the customs, manners and morals of the ill-famous houses. The fashion in the quarter of Kali was that out of the 1,000 pieces received, 500 were for the women, 500 the hire charge of clothes, perfumes and garlands. The visitors received and put on garments for the night, the next day donned their own and went away.

Tasmim pana gaṇikāghare idam cārittam : ābhatam saḥassato, pañca satāni gaṇikāya honti, pañca satāni vatthagandhamālāmūlam honti, āgatapurisā tasmim ghare laddhavatthāni nivāsetvā rattim vasitvā punadivase gacchantā nivāsetvā ābhatavatthān'eva nivāsetvā gacchanti. IV. 249.

Another is very strict about her fees. A merchant's son spends on her 80 crores of money, yet one day when he comes empty-handed he is cast out by the neck (III. 475). On the other hand the prostitute had her own codes of professional morality. Her code of honour dictates that after receiving contract from a suitor, she must not go with another for any offer. A prostitute, true to this standard, is an exemplar of Kuru piety and enunciates this in accordance with the ethics of her profession (II. 379). Another had fallen from better days because the lesson was lost upon her. "She used formerly to take a price from the hand of one not to go with another until she had made him enjoy his money's worth, and that is how she used to receive much. Now she has changed her manner and without leave of the first she goes with the last, so that she receives nothing, and none seeks after her. If she keeps to her old custom, it will be as it was before."

Sā gaṇikā pubbe ekassa hatthato bhatim gahetvā taṃ ajīrāpetvā aññassa hatthato na gaṇhāti, ten' assā pubbe bahum upajji idāni pana attano dhammatam vissajjetvā ekassa hatthato gaṇitam ajīrāpetvā va aññassa hatthato gaṇhāti, purimassa okāsam akatvā pacchimassa karoti, ten' assā bhati na uppajjati, na keci naṃ upasaṃkamanti, sace attano dhamme ṭhassati pubbe sadisā va bhavissati, II. 309.

In certain passages, a prostitute's profession appears as the meanest of vocations. One of the class wails : ahaṃ hi nagare pāṭaliputte gaṇikā rūpūpajīvim antimajīvikā (Mil. 122). Sāmā knows that in spite of her rate of 1,000 she is hated for her vile trade (nīcakammaṃ, Jāt. III. 60). But these give a partial view of the social psychology. The reputation of Videha was as much in its 16,000 girls as in its 16,000 villages and storehouses (III. 365; V. 190). The chief courtesan was the pride of the city, the focus

of its aesthetics, as Sulasā was of Bārāṇasi, Ambapālikā was of Vesālī and Sālavati was of Rājagaha.

“There was also the courtesan Ambapālikā who was beautiful, graceful, pleasant, gifted with the highest beauty of complexion, well-versed in dancing, singing and lute-playing, much visited by desirous people. She asked 50 for one night. Through her Vesālī became more and more flourishing.”

Ambapālikā gaṇikā abhirūpā hoti dassanīyā pāsādikā paramāya vaṇṇapokkharatāya samannāgatā padakkhimā nacce ca gīte ca vādite ca abhisatā atthikānam manussānam paññāsāya ca rattim gacchati tāya ca vesālī bhiyyosomattāya uposobhati. Mv. VIII. 1.

Finding Rājagaha outdone by Vesālī Seniya Bimbisāra installed a beautiful and accomplished girl Sālavati as courtesan, through whom Rājagaha gradually flourished. She charged 100 for one night (*ib.* 3). The chief courtesan of the state, according to the Arthaśāstra, is selected with sole consideration to beauty and accomplishments and she is trained up to all the artistic and musical proficiencies (II. 27).¹

Of course the state was interested in the traffic. It had use both for the glamorous nymph and for the street girl. They attracted rich men and, with them, business and prosperity. They were employed for sundry purposes. The king of Aṅga enticed the young recluse Ṛṣyaśṛṅga by means of a troupe of courtesans (Rām. I. 11). They formed an important part in the ceremonials. The *gaṇikās* along with minstrels and instrument-players are to go out and receive Rāma on his return from exile (VI. 129. 3). “They shall pay every month twice the amount of a day’s earning to the government.” Above all they are the most effective agents of the secret police (Arth. II. 27).

¹ The *gaṇikā* of the Arthaśāstra and the Kāmaśāstra resembles very much the Japanese Geisha, the cultured society girl trained in the arts of entertainment.

Such was the vicious circle of outlaws and undesirables of society, the *gūḍhājīvīs* who are to be suppressed with fines, banishment, espionage and torture (Arth. IV. 5, 6, 8). The bandit, the cut-throat, the swindler, the gambler and the debauch were bedfellows of the underworld and their rendezvous were the tavern, the brothel and the gambling den. The oft-quoted trio—wine, women and dice—were centres of crime and civil disorder (Sut. 106; Rām. II. 70. 41; Mbh. III. 13. 7; XII. 59. 60; 88. 14; 93. 17). The civil authority took little pains to wipe out these plague-spots. While crimes of violence (*sāhasa*) were dealt with a ruthless application of *lex talionis*, crimes of immorality were connived at for the sake of revenue and the 'vicious purposes of an unscrupulous secret service. The state had yet to learn the chaplain's maxim that crime cannot be controlled by taxation and torture and that institutions thriving upon public immorality undermine the basic fabric of the state.

BOOK VI

SOCIAL PHYSIOGNOMY

Sa kho so, bhikkhave, bālo sace kadāci karahaci dīghassa addhuno accayena manussattam āgacchati, yāni tāni nīca-kulāṃ caṇḍālakulāṃ vā nesādakulāṃ vā veṇakulāṃ vā rathakārakulāṃ vā pukkusakulāṃ vā—tathārūpe kule paccājāyati daḷidde apannapānabhojane kasiravattike, yattha kasirena ghāsacchādo labbhati. So ca hoti dubbaṇṇo duddasiko okoṭimako bāvhabādho kāṇo vā kuni vā khañjo vā pakkabhato vā, na lābhī annassa pānassa vatthassa yānassa mālāgandhavilepanassa seyyāvasathapadīpeyyassa ; so kāyena duccharitaṃ carati vācāya duccharitaṃ carati manasā duccharitaṃ carati ; so kāyena duccharitaṃ caritvā.....kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātam nirayaṃ upajjati :

Sa kho so, bhikkhave, paṇḍito sace kadāci karahaci dīghassa addhuno accayena manussattam āgacchati, yāni tāni uccakulāni—khattiyamahāsālakulāṃ vā brāhmaṇamahāsālakulāṃ vā gahapatimahāsālakulāṃ vā—tathārūpe kule paccājāyati adḍhe mahaddhane mahābhoge pabutajātarūpa-rājate pabutavittūpakaraṇe pabutadhanadbhāññe ; so ca hoti abhirūpo dassanīyo pāsādiko paramāya vaṇṇapokkharatāya samannāgato, lābhī annassa pānassa vatthassa yānassa mālāgandhavilepanassa seyyāvasathapadīpeyyassa ; so kāyena sucaritaṃ carati, vācāya sucaritaṃ carati, manasā sucaritaṃ carati ; so kāyena sucaritaṃ caritvā.....kāyassa bhedā param maraṇa sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ upajjati.

—Bālapaṇḍitasutta, Majjhima-nikāya.

A fool, should he become a human being after the lapse of a very long time, he comes into one of the low stocks—caṇḍālas, nesādas, veṇas, rathakāras and pukkusas, he is reborn to a life of vagrancy, want and penury, scarce getting food and drink for his stomach or clothes to his back.

He grows up ill-favoured and unsightly, misshapen, a weakling, blind or deformed, or lame or a cripple; he gets no food, drink and clothes, nor carriage, garlands, scents and perfumes; he misconducts himself in act, word and thought; his misconduct brings him at the body's dissolution after death to a state of misery and woe or to purgatory.....

A wise man, should he become a human being after the lapse of a very long time, he comes into one of the high stocks,—Khattiyas, Brāhmaṇas or Gahapatis, he is reborn to a life of affluence, riches and wealth with abundance of gold and coins of silver, and with abounding substance and abounding possessions. He grows up well-favoured and well-looking, with loveliest complexion, with plenty of food and drink and clothes and carriages and garlands and scents and perfumes; he conducts himself aright in act, word and thought and his right conduct brings him at the body's dissolution after death to well-being and satisfaction in heaven.

CHAPTER I

SLAVE LABOUR

Origin : Prisoner of war. Inherited. Born. Purchased. Gift. Mortgaged. Judicial punishment. Apostate. For food. Debtor. Voluntary. By wager. Growth of slavery. Manumission.

Functions : Personal attendance. Domestic service. Industrial establishments. Working for hire. Prostitution of female slaves.

Code of relation. Legal position. Social position.

Actual treatment : Chain and whip, ' Slave's fare.' Run-away slave. Freed slave.

The slave and the slave class. The Ārya slave and the Śūdra slave. Indian and Western slavery.

' Dāsa,' the Indian word for a slave is used in the
Origin. R̥gveda synonymously with ' dasyu ' in
the sense of enemies of the Aryans (V. 34.
6; VI. 22. 10; 33. 3; 60. 6; VII. 83. 1; Av. V. 11.3).
The *dāsavarṇa* (R̥v. I. 101. 1; 130.8; II. 12.4; 20.7 ; IV.
16. 13 ; VI. 47. 21 ; VII. 5. 3) and *āryavarṇa* (III. 34. 9)
allude to the aborigines and the Aryan invaders with
reference to their respective complexions.¹ The difference
in religion between the two sets of people is also very
frequently noted (I. 33, 4f ; IV. 16. 9 ; V. 7. 10; 42. 9 ;
VI. 14. 3 ; VIII. 70.10; X. 22. 7f). These conquered
aboriginals must have often been reduced to slavery and
hence the new application of the word ' dāsa ' in the sense
of a slave (VII. 86.7; VIII. 56. 3; X. 62. 10 ; Av.
IV. 9. 8 ; Ch. Up. VII. 24. 2). In the Atharvaveda ' dāsī '
is used in this sense (V. 22. 6; XII. 3. 13; 4.9; Ch. Up.
V. 13.2; Br. Up. VI. 1.10). " Aboriginal women no

¹ This is sometimes directly mentioned : ' Kṛṣṇa tvac,'—R̥v. I. 130.8; IX. 41.1 ;
' svitnya,'—I. 100. 18 ; ' ahorātra ' as analogous to ' śūdrāryau,' not of course in direct
order—Vāj. Sarp. XXIV. 30. Cf. in the Majjhima (93)—'d'eva vaṇṇā ayyo c'eva
dāso ca' in the Yono and Kamboja countries.

doubt were the usual slaves, for on their husbands being slain in battle they would naturally have been taken as servants."¹

Thus in India, as elsewhere, slavery originated from the earliest laws of war. "The vanquished is the victor's slave—such is the law of war" (Mbh. IV. 33.59f).² Those made captive under a standard are among the different types of slaves enumerated in Manu, the Arthaśāstra and Nārada (dhvajābrta, —Manu, VIII. 415; Arth. III. 13; Nār. V. 27). Prisoners captured in raids are one of the three varieties known in the Vinaya-piṭaka (karamarānito, BhikV-Saṃ. 1.2.1). In the Jātakas brigands are seen harrying a border village and going off with their prisoners (coresu paccantagāmaṃ pabaritvā karamare gahetvā gacchantesu, III. 147; IV. 220). In the Mahāsutasoma Jātaka, Sutasoma is afraid that Brahmadata of Benares would enslave the captured princes.³

These people, if they happened to survive their master, did not recover their freedom but were handed down to the legitimate heir along with other properties of the master. This is another variety of slave noticed by the law-givers (paitṛka,—Manu; dāyāgata,—Arth., Nār.) and the practice is fully borne out by other evidences.

The child born of a female slave in the house of a master became a slave to the same master. This is alluded to as *grhaja* or *udaradāsa* in Manu, the Arthaśāstra and Nārada and as *antojāto* in

¹ Macdonell and Keith : *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 357.

² In the same vein the Pāṇḍavas speak to the captive Jayadratha in the Vana-parva.

³ Among the four kinds of slaves enumerated elsewhere appear those driven by fear (bhayā panunnāpi. Jāt. VI, 285). Perhaps in those times and places when and where aggression and brigandage were not uncommon, the weaker people occasionally sought a benevolent and powerful master for protection against 'the laws of the jungle.'

the Vinaya passage. Vidura the king's councillor enumerates this among the four kinds of slaves (*amāyadāsa*,—*Jāt. VI. 285*) and he himself is a specimen. The *Jātakas* give other instances of 'home-born' slaves (*I. 452; VI. 110*).

We came to a later stage of development when slaves could be purchased for money (*krīta*,—*Manu, Arth., Nār.; dhanakkito*,—*Vin. dhanena kita*,—*Jāt. VI. 285*). In the *Jātakas* '*satena kitadāsa*' is a stock phrase indicating that 100 *kahāpaṇas* is the conventional price of a slave (*I. 224, 299*). 700 *kahāpaṇas* are "enough to buy slaves male and female" (*alam me ettakaṃ dhanam dāsīdāsamulāya*, *III. 343*).

Manu and Nārada recognise slavery by gift. In the *Vessantara Jātaka* an exiled prince gives away his wife and children to a suitor (*VI. 546*). Such pious demonstrations were undoubtedly rare.

According to the *Arthaśāstra* and Nārada one could be pledged or mortgaged to slavery. The state of mortgage continued till the debt was cleared. Of course the sale, gift or mortgage was open only to the rightful owner of a person, *i.e.*, to the master of a slave, to a husband, to a father or to kinsmen of a minor.

Perhaps a farther stage is revealed with enslavement by judicial punishment. This practice does not appear in the lists of Vinaya or of the *Vidura-paṇḍita Jātaka*. *Manu* refers to it as '*daṇḍadāsa*' and the *Arthaśāstra* as '*daṇḍapraṇīta*.'¹ The commentators on *Manu* explain it as "because one cannot pay a debt or a fine." The *Arthaśāstra* lays down that a person enslaved by court decree

¹ Cf. *daṇḍapratikartr*, *II, 24*.

shall earn that amount by work (*daṇḍapraṇītaḥ karmanā daṇḍamupanayet*), i.e., the culprit must earn and pay by hard labour the fine he is sentenced to. It is not made clear in any of the two passages whether this service is to be rendered to the state or to the sufferer. This form of penal servitude was certainly temporary expiring as soon as the fine or decree was worked off. But in the *Jātakas* there are instances of 'life sentence' too. In the *Kulāvaka Jātaka* a *gāmabhojaka* is reduced to slavery by the king's decree for bringing malicious charges against his people (I. 200). In the *Mahā-ummagga Jātaka* the king commutes death-sentence of four mischievous councillors and condemns them to slavery (VI. 463).

Nārāyaṇa and Nandana extend the *daṇḍadāsa* * of
 8. Apostate. Manu to include those who are sentenced to slavery for leaving a religious order. Viṣṇu emphatically declares : "An apostate from religious mendicity shall become the king's slave" (V. 152). According to Nārada such an apostate is never to be emancipated (V. 35; Yāj. II. 183). But we have no concrete instances of such measures in the *Jātakas*. Obviously these pious rules were difficult to enforce and they reflect only a growing tendency against which the law-givers strove in vain.

Manu and Nārada specify slaves serving for food.
 9. For food. Nārada says that this type of slave is released on giving up the subsistence. But this being the condition his status differs very little from the labourer working for hire and paid with food (*bhataka*). Apparently the status of slavery was sometimes preferred by a pauper to that of a hireling whose position, it will be seen, was sometimes worse than that of his brethren.

It is clear that as want and starvation became acute, people sold their freedom for maintenance. Nārada's list

accordingly includes one taking to bondage for food in time of famine.

From Nārada it appears that a debtor might have had to serve his creditor as slave until the payment of the debt

10. Debtor. with interest (V. 33). Theri Isidāsī, born as daughter of a poor carter, heavily encumbered with debts, was carried off as slave by a merchant in lieu of interest.

kapaṇamhi appabhoge dhanikapurisa-pātabahulamhi¹ 443

taṃ maṃ tato satthavāho ussannāya vipulāya vaḍḍhiyā²

okaḍḍhati vilapantiṃ acchinditvā kulagharassa 444

—Therigāthā

From the commentatorial note on 'daṇḍadāsa' in Manu it appears that this service might also be exacted in lieu of a debt (also Mbh. XII. 109. 18).

Voluntary enslavement is noticed in the Arthaśāstra (sakṛdātma-dhatā) and in Nārada. It is referred to also in

11. Voluntary. the Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī (I. 168) and in the Vidura-paṇḍita Jātaka (sayam pi upayanti dāsa). The motives of such self-degradation might be manifold. It might be done as penance (Jāt. VI. 87). It might be done to save somebody else's life or freedom (VI. 135). Evidently such cases were rare.

'Won through wager' is another kind of slave in Nārada. In the Majjhima nīkāya there is a passage which

12. By wager. says that a gambler by throwing a low cast with the dice loses son, wife, all his possessions and finally goes himself into bondage (129). One is immediately reminded of the classic (but by no means solitary) instance of Draupadī in the notorious dice contest in the Mahābhārata (cf. I. 16. 20).

¹ ipāyikānaṃ purisaṇaṃ adhipātanabāhule bahūhi ipāyikehi abhibhavitaṃbe. Paramatthadīpanī.

² ipavaḍḍhiyā. Ibid.

There might be other ways of reduction to slavery. The Magadhans once under a spell of pestilence are seen offering to be Jivaka's slave if he cured them (Mv. I. 39). One marrying a female slave becomes a slave according to Nārada.¹ It is interesting to note how with the advance of time and crystallisation of social institutions slavery became more and more institutionalised and its forms and varieties increased. At first, in the Vedic literature it was only the captive in war. The Vinayapiṭaka gives a list of three, the Vidura-paṇḍita Jātaka in its verse four. In Manu the list is widened to seven, the Arthaśāstra evinces the knowledge of eight varieties leaving others unspecified, and as we come down to Nārada we are presented with a still wider list of fifteen.

The rigidity of the institution however did not mean 'once a slave, always a slave.' There were provisions for redemption and manumission was not unknown. A pledge or mortgage was recovered on clearance of debt (Arth., Nār.). One condemned for debt or with fine was free as soon as it was paid or worked off. One enslaved for subsistence or for a stipulated period attained freedom on termination of the condition. The Arthaśāstra enjoins, and the Vessantara Jātaka shows that a slave could be released if somebody paid his price fixed at the time of sale or bequest. The exiled prince who gave away his children as slaves, put a price on them "as one puts a price on cattle" (gone agghapento viya taṭṭh'eva ṭhito kumāre agghāpesi). Eventually the grandfather of the children paid their price and procured their immunity (VI. 546f). According to Nārada one who saves his master's life in peril is entitled to liberty (V. 30). One made captive in fight, one won through wager and one voluntarily enslaved

¹ Nārada's list also contains 'one enslaved for a stipulated period' and 'one self-sold.' The significance is not made clear.

are to be released on giving a substitute of equal capacity (Nār, V. 34);¹ the husband of a female slave on parting with his wife (36).

But the commoner means of freedom was voluntary manumission given by the owner as an act of grace. This was open to all the varieties of slaves (Nār, V. 29). A slave girl brings to the housewife the happy tidings of arrival of her son who had turned a recluse and is promised manumission in a fit of ecstasy (Mn. 82). A master freed his slaves on the eve of renunciation (Jāt. V. 313). Kaṭāhaka, the run-away slave was traced but freed by his master (I, 451ff).

“The work which the slaves had to do was naturally extremely manifold and differed with the social position of the master and the intelligence of the slave.”² Kaṭāhaka was employed as store-keeper (bhaṇḍāgārikakammaṃ karonto) and Nanda was appointed by his master the guardian of his hidden property on behalf of his son. High-born and accomplished slaves to the king held high offices going up to the position of his councillor. As a rule however the work of the slave was of a lower nature.

To take care of the master's household, to attend to his body, to prepare his food and serve the dinner, these were the commonest functions of a domestic slave. The slave Piṅgalā washed the feet of her master and the family before they retired to bed at night and even after that she sat on the door-sill to await the master's pleasure (Jāt. III. 100). With considerable detail, Kaṭāhaka describes the *dāsakammaṃ*,—how he would set the dishes, place the spittoons, look to the drink

¹ A rule the observance of which was very doubtful. Cf. the case of Draupadī.

² Fick, *op. cit.*

and fetch the fan and how he would minister to the master when he retired (I. 453). Among the 'impure work' which is reserved for slaves according to Nārada is 'rubbing the master's limbs when desired' (V. 7). They served also as bathing attendants (*ib.* 6; Arth. III. 13; Jāt. I. 383).

Apart from personal attendance, the domestic slave did all other menial work of the household.

Domestic service.

A very common function of a female slave is pounding and winnowing of rice (I. 248; II. 428; III. 350) and spreading out the rice in the sun (I. 484). He or she is also seen clearing the leavings of food (Nār. V. 6; Jāt. IV. 145); sweeping the yards and stables (Nār. V. 5; Jāt. VI. 138); cleansing the bathing tank (Jāt. I. 484); fetching water (V. 284, 412); going on errands (I. 350).

Generally female slaves were maintained for domestic work. All the cases cited above except Kaṭāhaka (and Jāt. I. 350) were women (also Mn. 82). For outdoor work men were employed. The king's slaves served in the industrial and agricultural establishments of the state (Arth. II. 24) or fought in his array (Rām. II. 84. 7; Jāt. V. 412); private slaves plied in the big and small agricultural estate and industrial enterprise.

Industrial and Agricultural establishments.

The institution of slavery was not as innocent as it would appear from the functions of a slave enumerated above. In the Nāma-siddhi Jātaka is a scene of a master and a mistress beating their slave for she had not brought home her wages (*ekam dāsim bhatim adadamānam*, I. 402). It would appear that the master might let out the services of the slave on hire and thus make a profitable business out of him or her, since the slave had no right to earn and own property. In the *paccupannavatthu* of the Māṃsa Jātaka even the slaves of *bhikkhus* go to town to get dainty fare for their sick masters (III. 49).

Hiring out of slaves.

Prostitution of
female slaves.

Another evil feature was that the female slaves were very often kept for enjoyment, avowed or surreptitious. Sometimes it is difficult to demarcate them from prostitutes and concubines. In the primitive concepts of social ethics this was the natural destiny for the wives and daughters of one slain in battle or made captive in war. Instances of slave women bearing child to their masters come from the later Vedic literature down to the Arthaśāstra and the Jātakas (Ait. Br. II. 19; Kauṣ. Br. XII. 3; Arth. III. 13; Jāt. IV. 145, 298). The king's female slaves are to serve as bath-room attendants, shampooers, bedding room servants, washer-women and flower garland-makers (snāpaka-śamrāhak'-āstaraka-rajaka-mālākāra karma dāsyah kuryuh, Arth. I. 21). Prostitutes and female slaves incapable of providing enjoyment to king (bhagnabhogā) are to be employed in the stores or kitchen. Female slaves are trained along with royal prostitutes in the arts of entertainment and feminine wiles (II. 27). In the public taverns it was not an extraordinary spectacle to find a *dāsī* with blooming youth and beauty (peśalarūpā) lying in intoxication with her master (II. 25). This was the natural social consequence emerging out of the maintenance of large number of women slaves within the household.¹

The code of treatment of a slave by a master and of reciprocal duties and relations as formulated in didactic pieces is fairly enlightened and high. In the words of Buddha
Code of treatment. slaves and servants form the nadir (hetṭhimā dīsā) among the six quarters that the Aryan master has to protect; and (1) he assigns

¹ It might of course happen, although very rarely, that a master gives the status of wife or daughter-in-law to his female slave (Amba-Pv. Com. IV. 12; Therig., 445). On the reverse the Jātakas furnish instances of the master's wife and daughter falling in love with or marrying their male slave.

them work according to their strength (*yathābalaṃ kam-manta-samvidhānena*), (2) supplies them with food and wages (*bhatta-vetanānuppādānena*), (3) tends them in sickness (*gilānu paṭṭhānena*), (4) shares with them unusual delicacies (*acchariyānaṃ rasānaṃ samvibhāgena*), (5) grants leave at times (*samaye vossaggena*).¹ The slaves and workmen respond to such good ministration in five ways : (1) they rise before him, (2) they lie down to rest after him, (3) they are content with what is given to them, (4) they do their work well, (5) they carry about his praise and good fame. (Dn. XXXI. 27). Aśoka exhorts the proper treatment of slaves and hirelings along with friends and relatives as consonant with *dhamma* (R. E. XIII). According to *Manu*, the master's duty is to give funeral *piṇḍa* to the soulless slaves and to maintain them when old and weak. The *Sūdra*, on the other hand, must never leave his master whatever may be his sufferings. He should maintain his master besides his own family when the latter suffers a loss of wealth (*dravya-parikṣaye*, XII. 60. 35f). He stands in respectable company with parents, brother, children, daughter-in-law and female relatives of his master with whom a *Snātaka* should never have quarrels (IV. 180). A slave is as one's shadow whose offence the master should bear without resentment as of his brother, wife, son and daughter (IV. 184f). According to the *Arthaśāstra* those who do not heed the claims of their slaves, hirelings and relatives shall be taught their duty (II. 1).

The fundamental fact of the legal position of the slave was his complete loss of *persona*. He was the master's chattel as much as oxen, buffaloes, gold and silver (*Jāt.* I. 341), or as oxen, gold, garments, sandāl-wood, horses, treasures, jewels, etc. (V. 223). The master had the right to recover him if he ran

¹ Constant relaxation so that they need not work all day, and special leave with extra food and adornment for festivals, etc.—Buddhaghosa, *Cf.* *Jāt.* III. 435.

away (I. 451, 458) or disposed himself to another master (Nār. V. 40). He had the right to make a bequest of him to another (Jāt. VI. 138). He was just as Vidura, the counsellor, describes himself. : " I am a slave from my birth; my weal and woe come from the king, I am the king's slave even if I go to another, he may give me by right to thee. "

Addhā pi yonito ahaṃ pi jāto
bhavo ca rañño abhavo ca rañño
dās'ahaṃ devassa paraṃ pi gantvā
dhammena maṃ māṇava tuyhaṃ dajjā ti,
VI. 285

As will be seen below the master could take the life of his slave with impunity.

A slave can have no property (Manu, XII. 60. 37; VIII. 416f), *i.e.*, he cannot earn money by working for others (adhigacchanti parakarma-karaṇādina, —Nārāyaṇa). Whatever he earns belongs to his master (Mbh. I. 82. 22ff; V. 33. 68; Nār. V. 41). The doors of the Saṃgha were closed to him (Mv. I. 46). He could not enter an agreement unless authorised (Arth. III. 1). He could not stand as witness except in case of failure of qualified witnesses (Manu, VIII. 66, 70).

These legal disabilities do not discord with the idealised relation between a master and a slave outlined above which ignores any right on behalf of the slave. Nor does his inferior social status. In Manu and in the Śāntiparva (242. 20) he appears as an integral part of the master's family,¹ deserving of treatment similar to the members of the household. If a slave sometimes figures in the less respectable company of cows, mares, she-camels, she-buffaloes, she-goats and ewes (of which the issue belongs to the owner of the mother,—Manu,

¹ Also Mbh. V. 23. 15; 30. 39; Jāt. II. 428; III. 167.

IX. 48; cf. Jāt. I. 341; V. 223), this is no paradox. For the *magna familia* of the Aryan householder embraced within its fold these domestic animals as much as the slaves. Animals had as much claim to kind treatment as slaves (Aśoka's R. E. XIII) and neither had the social status of the other members of the family. This is shown in characteristic fashion in the Nānacchanda Jātaka. Puṇṇā, the female slave is offered a boon along with the master, the mistress, the son and the daughter-in-law. While they ask for a village, 100 milch cows, a car and ornaments, she for a pestle, a mortar and a winnowing basket (II. 428).

This Puṇṇā receives from her master the epithet—'jammī,' meaning 'the low, contemptible.' 'Thou wilt be a slave,'² is a serious form of curse (Mbh. I. 16. 19ff). *Dāsiputta* is a universal term of abuse (Jāt. I. 225; III. 233; IV. 41). King Vidudabha is insulted as the 'son of a slave-girl' even by a slave woman (IV. 145). Children of slave-girls by their masters did not get over this stigma.¹ Mahānāma the Sākya cannot dine with his daughter Vāsavakhattiyā by the slave Nagamuṇḍā. Bodhisatta, as king's chaplain, disports with a slave-girl, but cannot give his family name to the bastard born to him (IV. 298).

The legal and social position of the slave being what it was, his habitual lot was not to be petted and fondled like a foster child. The slave Kaṭāhaka learnt writing with his master and "two or three handicrafts (vohāre) and grew up to be a fair-spoken and handsome youngman' (vacanakusalo yuvā abhirūpo ahosi). Brought up in the refinements of his master's house, he could successfully pose abroad as his master's son. With a master like Bodhisatta such treatment is intelligible, but even with such a master, the slave could not escape the fear that "at the slightest fault

Treatment : chain and whip.

¹ Ait. Br. II. 19; Kauṣ. Br. XII. 3.

he shall be beaten, chained, branded and fed in slave's fare" (tālitvā bandhitvā lakkhaṇena aṅketvā dāsapari-bhogena pi paribhuñjissanti, I. 451). It is wonderful that Mrs. Rhys Davids finds only two instances of actual ill-treatment in Buddhist literature,¹ the one where a slave tires the temper of her mistress by persistent late-rising and is struck in the head with a lynchpin causing bleeding (Mn. 21); the other where a girl is beaten with rope by her master and mistress for not bringing home her wages (Jāt. I. 402 f). In Buddha's discourse slaves and servants are said to be obeying the inhuman orders of a king harried by stripes and fears (daṇḍatajjitā bhayatajjitā. Mn. 51; Sn. I. 75). "Men acquire men as slaves and by beating, binding and by otherwise subjugating them make them work day and night. These people are not ignorant of the pain that is caused by beating and chains."

Mānuṣā mānuṣāneva dāsabhāvena bhuñjati
Vadhabandha nirodhena kārayanti divāniśam
Ātmanaścāpi jānāti yadduḥkham vadhabandhane,
Mbh. XII. 261. 38f.

The cruel master in the Vessantara Jātaka ties the hands of the boy and the girl with a creeper and holding it tight beats them and drives them on. "Where he struck them the skin was cut, the blood ran, when struck, they staggered against each other back to back"² (VI. 546f). In the Rajjumāla-vimāna (Vimānavatthu) occurs the doleful sketch of a maid-servant who was abused right and left and when she grew up, had a liberal deal of blows and fisticuffs. She was taken by the hair for slaps and kicks. She tried to escape with a shave but it made her lot worse. The mistress was aroused at her tonsured poll.

¹ Camb. Hist., Ch. VIII, p. 205.

² There is a perceptible element of exaggeration to make a perfect villain of the Brāhmaṇa and demonstrate the piety and fortitude of the prince who is a Bodhisatta.

She bound her head with a rope and pulled it down with a wrench whenever it pleased her fancy. The maid was thus nicknamed *rajjumāla*. Weary of her life she thought of deliverance by committing suicide in the jungle which was happily averted. Such apparently was the common lot of slaves as insinuated in Sakka's talk with a maid who would not weep at the death of her master's son. "You must have been oppressed, beaten and abused by him and therefore, thinking he is happily dead, you weep not" (Jāt. III. 167).

Nūna tvam iminā pīletvā bādhelvā paribuṭṭā bhavissasi, tasmā 'sumato-ayan' ti no rodasīti. The same treatment to a *dāsi* is echoed in the commentary on the Uragapetavatthu, I. 12 :—

Yadi evam tena tam poṭhetvā veyyavaccakāritā bhavissasi tasmā maññe sumuttāham tena matenāti na rodasīti. In both cases the insinuation is denied and in the Jātaka story, it is said that the young master was full of love and pity for his slave—'te samaggā sammodamānā piyasamvāsā ahesum.' But this was a Bodhisatta family and Sakka's words more correctly represent the standard.

The toll of misery did not always end with beating and binding or other ingenious device of torture. A *setṭhi*'s daughter is afraid that her father would cut her and her slave lover to pieces if he heard of their liaison (Jāt. I. 120). In the Nāgavimāna we read that the guard of a sugarcane field (*ucchupālaka*) in the employ of a Brāhmaṇa was clubbed to death by his master for having improvised a hut to accommodate some *bhikkhus* and given them canes to eat.

tam sutvā brāhmaṇo kupito anattamano taṭataṭāyamāno kodhābhibhūto tassa piṭṭhito upadhāvitvā muggarena tam paharanto ekappahāren' eva jīvitā voropesi (VvA. V. 12).

The servile class (*dāsajāti*) should be given by their masters used articles and torn clothes no longer fit for wear (*adhāryāṇi viśīrṇāṇi vasanām*, Mbh. XII. 60. 33 ; Jāt. I. 371). Broken rice (*kaṇājaka*) and sour gruel were their habitual food (An. I. 145). 'A slave's fare' is a common phrase of abuse in the Jātakas (*dāsaparibhoga*, I. 451, 459). The Arthaśāstra gives a foretaste of this stuff when it says that bad liquor (*duṣṭasurā*) fit for selling at lower than standard price may conveniently go into the ration of slaves, hirelings or hogs and draught animals (II. 25). The slave was not even entitled to a square meal. He was to get provision in proportion to the work done (*yathāpuruṣa-parivāpam bhaktam kuryāt*, II. 24 ; cf. Jāt. III. 300).

That the slave's was not an enviable lot is also clear from the fact that freedom was highly prized¹ and that he sometimes ran away from his master's house (Jāt. I. 451, 458). Even the Arthaśāstra, which is otherwise so liberal, has to admit that a run-away slave forfeits the right of redemption.²

When a slave was discharged from bondage, no legal or social stigma attached to him any more. The ban of the *saṃgha* was lifted from him (Dn. II, 35). But the mere fact that a slave could earn freedom does not necessarily mean amelioration. If he was competent to settle in a skilled profession it was the better for him. For a poor unskilled person it was into the fire from the frying pan, i.e., either a change of master or service as a labourer for hire.

As a matter of fact, it was not the status of slavery which was so degrading, the degradation was inherent in the

¹ Tato nidānam labhettha pāmujjam, adhigacche somanassam. Mn. 39.

² It is strange of Mrs. Rhys Davids to say "we do not meet with run-away slaves." Loc. cit.

class which served as drudge to the higher orders. In this light is to be read the injunction of Manu that a Sūdra, even if set free, is not released from servitude—"for who can take away that which is inborn in him?"

The slave and the slave-class. Ārya and Sūdra slave.

(VIII. 4-14). This also explains the two sets of rules, seemingly contradictory, in the Dharmaśāstras and in the Arthaśāstra. Those very 'impure works' (sweeping ordure, urine, leavings of food; attending to the master while naked), which Nārada assigns to a slave, are prohibited for him in the Arthaśāstra. While Manu and Nārada countenance no rights of property for a slave, the Arthaśāstra allows him to earn, own and inherit property. Even after his death, his kinsmen have the priority of claim on his property over the master. Sale and mortgage into slavery are laid under severe stricture. Chastity of a female slave is meticulously guarded not only against the master but against royal officers and every debauch with heavy fine and violation entitles her to freedom (*i.e.*, forfeiture of value on the part of the master,—*mūlyanāśa*).

While Manu declares that a Sūdra is not released from servitude by being set free, the Arthaśāstra rules that an Ārya does not lose his birth-right (*āryabhāva*) even if enslaved. If it is true that in the latter the Sūdra is not a distinctly separated category from the Ārya as in the former but a part of it, that only indicates that the Sūdra of the Arthaśāstra is not the same class as the Sūdra of Manu. It is remarkable that the liberal rules of the Arthaśāstra are confined to the one and the main chapter (*dāsakalpa*) and its cursory references elsewhere do not adhere to the same enlightened principles. These latter were applicable to large classes of people who stood between the border lines of the Sūdra and Mleccha groups, *i.e.*, who were neither absorbed within nor kept in complete isolation from the Aryan social organism. The privilege accrued to the upper classes

degraded to slavery, the Āryas proper. The instance of the Vessantara Jātaka is a clear proof of this proposition. The prince, who gives her daughter to slavery, puts a high price on her lest a low-born should pay it and 'break her birth-right' (jātisambhedana kāreyya).

In the Arthaśāstra, the Mlecchas are expressly kept out of the privileges. The suggestion readily occurs that they formed the bulk of slavery. But certainly a Mleccha could not be put into a job which brought him into personal contact with an Aryan master. It appears that Śūdras, *i.e.*, the lowest of the Aryan fold or the aborigines who became an appendage to the Aryan system, supplied the mass of slave labour, not the Mlecchas of whom even the sight and air were reprehensible, nor the upper orders who were occasionally relegated by freaks of fortune. This is why in Manu and in the didactic episodes of the Epics, *dāsa* and *śūdra* go synonymously. This is why 'dāsa' is so often distinctly referred to as a *jāti*, *i.e.*, a class by birth and not a functional group.

The actual condition and life of this class, though not enviable, was better than that of the slaves of ancient Greece and Italy or of the late 'white plantations.' When Megasthenes said that the Indians do not employ
Of Western slavery. slaves, he only brought forth this contrast.

Unlike those countries again, the number of slaves in India, though large, was a fraction of the labouring class. The work of degrading manual labour was shared between the slave, the free hired labourer and a host of Mlecchas and *hīnajātis*. Hence in India the basis of economic life was not slavery and the Eastern analogy of the slave of Rome and Sparta in all-round exploitation was not the *dāsa* but the last of the classes mentioned above.

CHAPTER II

HIRED LABOUR

Free Labour :—agricultural and pastoral; industrial; mercantile; domestic; miscellaneous. Origin in pauperism. Modes of payment. Degradation and devaluation of labour. Wage and Profit rates. Free contract? Terms of hire. Slave labour and hired labour. The Labourer and the Outcast. Paucity of labour unrest.

In the scale of economic gradation the hired labourer stood just below the slave. Leaving aside the better artisans who were more or less organised in guilds and had the instruments of collective bargaining to secure good terms of agreement, the unskilled 'hands' are found distributed in five categories.

While the small farmer carried on agricultural operations single-handed or with the co-operation of the family, a remarkable division of agricultural labour and employment of operatives in large numbers is noticeable in the big estates of solvent landowners. In the Pali literature they are seen working in diminutive gangs under big merchants and farmers, such as for example under the cattle-magnate Dhaniya of the Suttanipāta (I. 2. Com.) and the agriculturist Kāsi-bhāradvāja in the same work (I. 4; cf. Sn. I. 171; Jāt. IV. 276). The Sākya and the Koliya clans appear in the *paccupannavatthu* of the Kunāla Jātaka as working their estates jointly by means of a horde of *dāsas* and *kammakaras*—bondsmen who had no standing in the corporate body holding a position akin to serfs and villains of feudal society (V. 412).¹ The mass of slaves and hired labour in agricultural work were employed separately for

1. Agricultural and Pastoral Labour.

¹ *Supra*, p. 23,

tillage, field-watching, harvesting, tending and grazing cattle and for dairy production. There were professional ploughmen (*kasim katvā jīvikam kappentassa*, Jāt. II. 165; *bhatim vā kasim vā katvā laddhavibhavānurūpena yagubhattā-dīni sampādetvā pitaram posesi*, IV. 43); field-watchers who had huts built close by the field and had their meals there and dwelt there day and night (Jāt. III. 52; IV. 276; Sn. IV. 195f); and even winnowers of grain available for hire.

Hired labour appears side by side with slave labour also in spinning, weaving or other manufactures whether in state establishments or with private owners. Instances of the former are furnished in the *Arthasāstra* (II. 23). In a Jātaka story we come across a tailor in the employ of a merchant (*setthim nissāya vasantassa tunnakārassa tunnakammena jīvissāma*, Jāt. IV. 38).

The slave and hireling were employed in mercantile and marine labour to hawk the wares of the master or to serve in the deck. A rich Brāhmaṇa sails to Suvannabhūmi with merchandise and slaves and servants (*dāsakammakarā*) to multiply his wealth (IV. 15); Mittavindaka hires himself out as drudge in a vessel voyaging on deep sea (I. 239; II. 103). In the *Milindapañho*, a deck labourer in a sea-going vessel thinks in the vein "I am a wage-earner serving in this ship and get my food and wages hereby (*bhatako aham, imāya nāvāya kammam karomi, imāyāham nāvāya vāhasā bhattavetanam labhāmi*, p. 379)."

The hired man served in menial household work along with the slave in the house of rich merchants and land-owners (Jāt. III. 129). Besides these, were sundry

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| 4. Domestic Labour
and
5. Miscellaneous. | job-seekers without any fixed employment who stood between vagrancy and starvation, who eked out a miserable |
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existence by any chance engagement, whose services might

be requisitioned for a month, fortnight, or even a day (Vr. XVI. 9) and who sometimes offered themselves for a particular work apparently with many masters at a time, *e.g.*, the water-carriers (pāṇīyahārakā) who rear up a street dog (Jāt. II. 246), the water-carrier of the Gaṅgamāla Jātaka (bhatiko udakabhaṭim katvā) of whom we shall know more anon and Piṅguttara and his associates who clean the road for the king going to disport in the park (VI. 348).

The advent of the new labouring class after the slaves is obviously due to economic depression. The origin of slavery was in the right of the strong over the weak,—of hired labour in want and penury. It is only as late as in Pāṇini that we come across this parvenu (vetana, vaitanika, IV. 4. 12). The rules of the Arthaśāstra and of the Dharmaśāstras are an illuminating commentary on the scanty data of the Pali canon and they lead to the unmistakable inference (despite the contrary opinion held in certain authoritative quarters¹) that living was not easy for all, that want and plenty prevailed side by side and that although people held it degrading to work for hire, the number of persons reduced to such straits was by no means small. There must have been a wide prevalence of pauperism when want and starvation became a factor impelling people to sell themselves to slavery (bhaktadāsa, Manu, XVIII. 415). This same factor explains why in spite of the degradation of hired labour to a lower economic status, its ranks were swelled by perpetual supply from the landless and the destitute.

The wage-earner was commonly paid in money but he might be paid also in food or in both (Arth. II. 24; Vr. XVI. 13; Jāt. IV. 43). Other curious mediums of payment are also mentioned in the Jātakas. In the higher courses of learning the pupils

Modes of payment

are admitted by teachers for an honorarium or for personal attendance and between the two discrimination is made in favour of the former :

dhammantevāsikā divā ācariyassa kammaṃ katvā rattim sippam uggaṇhanti, ācariyabhāgadāyakā gehe jēṭṭhaputtā viya hutvā sippam eva uggaṇhanti. II. 278.

Veda never told his pupils to perform any work or to obey implicitly his own behests ; “ for having himself experienced much woe while abiding in the family of his preceptor, he liked not to treat them with severity.”

duḥkhābhijño hi gurukulavāsasya śiṣyān parikleśena yojayitum neyeṣa. Mbh. I. 81.

A Brāhmaṇa youth serves a *caṇḍāla* as menial to acquire a charm (Jāt. IV. 200). A girl is taken to service for three years in a family for a scarlet robe (kusumbharattavattthena bhatim karomi, V. 212), and a wife is “ obtained after working for seven years in a house ” (sattasaṃvaccharāṇi ghare katvā laddhabhariyā, VI. 338). The worker in these cases receives a specified reward for which he has a fancy and accordingly lets his service unconditionally for a period demanded by the master.

Although the subjects of these illustrations must not be classed with ordinary hired labourers and although these illustrations fall outside the ordinary terms of service, they

point uniformly to a low valuation of labour. In the popular stories the workers’ normal diet is coarse rice-gruel (kummāsa-piṇḍa, Jāt. III. 406) and it never pretends to anything above the *yagubhatta*. In the Mahāummagga Jātaka, a potter’s hireling after a full day’s work with clay and the wheel, “ sat all clay-besmeared on a bundle of straw eating balls of barley-groat dipt in a little soup.”

Mattikaṃ āharitvā cakkam vattetvā mattikamakkhita-sarīraṃ palālapitṭhake nisīditvā muṭṭhiṃ muṭṭhiṃ katvā appasūpaṃ yavabhattaṃ bhuñjamānaṃ, VI.—372.

Degradation and De-
valuation of Labour.

Sutana cannot make both ends meet and thinks, "I get a *māsaka* or a half-*māsaka* for my wages and can hardly support my mother," and he ventures to meet a *yakkha* and certain death for a thousand pieces with which his mother may be provided (III. 326). A pathetic humour pervades the story of the water-carrier who saved a half-*māsaka* in the city-rampart and was so transported by the thought of spending it on a festive day together with another half-*māsaka* saved by his water-carrier wife¹ that he ecstatically ran singing league after league to fetch the treasure under scorching sun rays, "in yellow clothes with a palm-leaf fastened to his ear." The happy pair thus budgeted their savings of one *māsaka* : "we will buy a garland with one part of it, perfume with another, and strong drink with a third" (III. 446).

The average daily income of the workman was, therefore, the smallest copper piece in currency which is far below the living wage. Such pittance of wage are corroborated in the *Arthaśāstra* which fixes a *paṇa* and a quarter per mensem² for agricultural labourers and field-watchers with provisions proportionate to the amount of work done (II. 24). They are not always entitled to a square meal and sometimes the diet actually varies according to labour. The sight of a begging monk coming with full alms-bowl from his house inspires the thought in the *setṭhi* that if his *dāsa*s and *kammakaras* had got that food he could have more work out of them, and he sighs for the loss sustained (Jāt. III. 300).

¹ Not strictly according to law, for the two had only cohabited (*kapaṇṭhiyā saddhimp sampvāsam kappesi*). A casual word gives a vivid glimpse into the life and social status of these people.

² I.e., 20 *māṣakas* a month, or $2/3$ *māṣaka* per day. Manu's rate is 1 *paṇa* or 16 *māṣakas* for the lowest menials, 6 *paṇas* or 96 *māṣakas* for the highest, plus 1 *droṇa* of grain, i.e., 4 *āḍhakas* or 512 *palas* (Com.) and clothing every 6 months (VII. 126). Thus the daily wages are $1/2-3$ *māṣakas* with $1/80$ *droṇa* of grain and clothing after 6 months.

Wages might be fixed or variable or they might be assessed at a fraction of the gain. In its regulations on textile labour, the Arthasāstra lays down that wages are to vary according to the quality and quantity of the yarn produced; only artisans who can turn out a given amount of work in a given time may be engaged on fixed wages (II. 23). Vṛhaspati distinguishes between servants engaged on pay and servants engaged for a share of the gain (XVI. 8). But whatever the mode of payment, wages are uniformly of a low standard. The rates for share of profit are standardized by experts (*kuśalāḥ*) at 1/10 of crop for the cultivator, of butter for the herdsman and of sale proceeds for the pedlar (Arth. III. 13; Yāj. II. 194; Nār. VI. 2. 3). This astonishingly inequitable rule is somewhat liberalised by Vṛhaspati who entitles a cultivator's servant to 1/5 of the crop *plus* food and clothing or only 1/3 of the crop (XVI. 13).¹ How labour was estimated in proportion to capital is best illustrated in the regulation of the Śāntiparva fixing only 1/7 of produce for the cultivator who borrows the seed from others, the same share being fixed for traders with others' capital (60. 25f). To revert to Nārada's rule, "For tending 100 cows a heifer shall be given to the herdsman as wages every year, for tending 200 cows a milch cow shall be given to him annually and he shall be allowed to milk all the cows every eighth day" (VI. 10). In the Śāntiparva he is allowed the milk of 1 cow for tending 6 kine and 1 pair for keeping 100 (60. 25). And these rates are hardly more lucrative than the profit rate when the grave responsibilities

¹ Cf. the present rate prevailing in the districts of Western Bengal where the landless cultivator (*khet majur*) gets between 1/3 and 1/2 of produce and the sleeping landowner the rest. In Bihar and Orissa the *kamia* and *halraha* get 1½ srs. of coarse grain for one day's labour and 8-10 *kuttaha* of land with a little additional income in the harvesting season. Cf. also the more liberal rule of the Arthasāstra on behalf of cultivators in crown-lands who obtain 1/4 or 1/5 of produce (II. 24).

of the herdsman tending his cattle in beast and robber-ridden forests are taken into account.

A contract entered into before appointment between the employer and the employee on the wages and the terms of service is frequently dealt with by jurists and politicians.

Free contract ?

This contract, freely agreed to between the parties so often propounded with zest, was no less a fiction than the freedom of contract insisted upon with cant by the anti-trade-unionists of the Victorian age and meant little less than terms dictated by the moneyed master to the destitute toiler with starvation staring in the face whose vocation required no technical skill and who had no organisation like the *seṇi* and the *gaṇa* and no leader like the *jeṭṭhaka* or *pamūkha* to bargain for a higher pay and better working conditions. Labour legislation of the Dharmaśāstras shows that public conscience was not alive to the fundamental inequity in distribution of wealth, because these protective laws were themselves derived from ancient tradition and current usage except for a thin humanitarian gloss which is less perceptible in popular literature reflecting actual conditions of society. The injunction that an "ill-considered and improper" agreement shall not be enforced is only a pious wish, and even if it was ever observed, the proper and standard rate was enough by itself to make the small wage-earner chafe in life.

The field-watcher was liable to a fine or compensation for any loss. The watchman of the Sāli-

Terms of hire.

kedāra Jātaka to whom were delivered by a Brāhmaṇa farmer 500 *karisas* of land for a wage, is afraid when the plot is ravaged by parrots, that "the Brāhmaṇa will have a price put on the rice and debit it from my account" (*sālim agghāpetvā mayhaṃ iṇaṃ karissati*, IV, 276 ff.). Thus the hireling had responsibilities unlike the slave for any injury to his master's chattel or to the job

undertaken. Any deficit out of the estimated output from the quantity of raw materials supplied must be made good from the wages—so goes the rule of the *Arthaśāstra* on textile labour (*sūtrahrāse vetanahrāsaḥ dravyasārāt*, II. 23). If fines are remitted in special cases considering accident, disease, etc., the loss incurred by the employer must be compounded by extra work (*ibid*). Payment may be withheld if circumstances change since the employment and if workmanship is below the employer's satisfaction (*deśa-kālātīpātanena karmaṇām anyathā karaṇe vā na sakāma kṛtamanumanyeta*, III. 14; *cf.* *Yāj.* II. 195). For negligence of work a hired tiller or herdsman is to be flogged (*Āpast.* II. 11. 28. 2f). A workman who abandons his work before the expiry of the term shall forfeit his whole wages and pay a fine of 100 *paṇas* to the king (*Viṣ.* V. 153f). He is responsible for the "implements of the work and whatever else may have been entrusted to them for their business" (*Nār.* VI. 4). The herdsman is accountable for the damage done by cattle in others' fields (*Gaut.* XII. 20f; *Manu*, VIII. 240; *Viṣ.* XII. 20-26; *Yāj.* II. 162) and for loss of cattle through the depredation of thieves, robbers, wild beasts, reptiles, diseases and accidents unless he exerts himself timely to prevent the loss—a thing certainly not very easy to establish when the onus of proof remains on him (*Arth.* II. 29; *Āpast.* II. 11. 28. 6; *Manu*, VIII. 232; *Yāj.* II. 164; *Nār.* VI. 11-17).

The economic position and security of these unskilled hands who plied in big plantations or purveyed manual labour from door to door on a short term service was thus in many respects worse than that of the slaves. In the *Milinda* the *bhatikas* are put among the most degraded sort of work-people while the *dāsaputtas* stand in best company (p. 331). These latter were at least well-fed like domestic animals. In the *Jātaka* stories paid servants are not always admitted

Slave labour and
Hired labour.

to the facilities which slaves commonly enjoy. The amenities of the master's home were not for them. As regards general social status there was little to choose between a slave and a free labourer. A 'hireling' is as much a term of abuse as a 'slave' (Jāt. II. 94). With the slave he is classed with oxen and buffaloes (I. 341).¹ King Yudhiṣṭhira is instructed to exact labour from artisans only with the payment of food as unto kine and asses (Mbh. XIII. 95. 39). His position depended primarily on the master's solvency and sense of humanity and secondarily on his own brawns and brains, as much as did the slave's. A petty craftsman's apprentice had generally a hard lot (VI. 372) with little prospect of mitigation under any circumstances: but with a rich master the position is not necessarily reversed. We have a miserly merchant who grudges the alms to a monk which might be spent for returns over his half-fed labourers and slaves (III. 300) and we have the counterparts in a rich and pious merchant whose labourers are engaged in outdoor work under good living conditions and with a square meal (III. 445f) and in a Brāhmaṇa whose wagemen even give alms and observe fast and moral rules (IV. 50).

Lest workmen should spoil work in hand, the author of the Arthaśāstra forbids indiscriminate sale of liquor to them and in a curious fit of contradiction, a few lines below he gives the economic advice that bad liquor, fit for selling at reduced price, may conveniently be given to slaves and workmen in lieu of wages; or it may form the drink of beasts for draught or the subsistence of hogs.

dāsakarmakarebhyo vā vetanaṃ dadyāt. Vāhana-prati-
pānaṃ śūkara-poṣaṇaṃ vā dadyāt, II. 25.

The sentiment underlying the bare statement is more eloquent than pages of theorizing and legislation.

¹ Among hired workers, Vṛhaspati classifies the warrior, the cultivator, the porter and the household servant in descending order of status (XVI. 10).

In their social segregation and economic position these people stood on a par with the still lower underdogs of the Indian Society—the *caṇḍālas*, the *pukkusas*, the *veṇas*, the *nesādas*, the *rathakāras*, etc., who settled in villages of their own outside the habitat of the ordinary people. The serving folk as well are sometimes seen to dwell outside the city or village gate as befitted their economic and social position (Jāt. I. 239; III. 446; VI. 348) and acknowledge that indication of social inferiority (V. 441; VI. 156; Mn. V; Mbh. XIII. 22. 22). The localisation and isolation of the free proletariat was not, indeed it could not be, as thorough as in the case of their prototypes,—the *mleccha* and the *hīnajāti*, and they never attained to the community and solidarity of caste in the stricter sense. There are instances of Brāhmaṇas and Gahapatis taking to servile occupations under the chill of adversity (Jāt. I. 111, 475; II. 139; III. 325; Sut., p. 119). But the great mass was evidently composed of the socially degraded classes in whom “the profession of a hired labourer was as much hereditary as the poverty connected with it”¹ and who had hardly any chance of access to a more respectable and remunerative calling.² The elements of the upper classes relegated by shufflings of fate were probably equated with them after a short course of levelling process. Thus it becomes intelligible why tradition called it the direst misfortune that a freeman should work for hire in another’s land and how the fluctuations of fate of earlier days had a gradual tendency to give way to concentration and perpetuation of poverty in a plebeian caste,³—a caste scattered and heterogeneous without the blessings of a communal life.

¹ Fick: *Die Sociale Gliederung*, p. 195.

² There is one instance in the Jātakas where a king honours a hireling with the post of *setthi* (I. 422).

³ Note the term ‘*daliddakula*’ frequently used in the Jātakas.

And it is because this caste did not crystallise into a community and because it was numerically smaller than the superior castes and smaller than the labour population of ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome, that it did not mature into an explosive material seething with perennial discontent under the superstructure of civilisation and material prosperity.¹

¹ Times have since changed. They are now as scattered, ill-organised, degraded and impoverished as before but their number has immensely multiplied. Together with the under-ryots whose lots are not improved with the successive tenancy laws, they are rapidly growing into an organised menace to the existing social order.

CHAPTER III

DESPISED CASTES AND RACES

The *hīnajāti*

I. The *Caṇḍāla*: Origin. Appearance. Arts and professions; corpse-burner, executioner, hunter, magician. Habitat. Social segregation. Social and economic disabilities. General status.

II. The *Pukkusa*: Origin. Profession. Status.

III. The *Nesāda*: Origin and identity. Racial and professional stigma. The hunting profession, *luḍḍaka*, *kevaḍḍa*. Methods, equipments and accessories for hunting and fishing. Habitat. Social status.

IV. The *Veṇa*: Ethnico-professional castes. Status. Craft.

V. The *Rathakāra*: Origin and degradation. Craft; chariot-building, leather-work. Status.

The *apasada* or mixed castes. Inferior races.

Side by side with the four *varṇas* constituted by Aryan invaders, the social physiognomy presents a host of despised castes and professions represented by the *hīnajāti*. aboriginal races going under the general brand of *mleccha* or *hīnajāti*. Pāṇini knows them as the class of *aniravasitas* below the *Sūdras* (2. 4. 10). The Pali literature picks up five of these pariah castes for constant mention. The *Suttavibhaṅga* *Pācittiya* enumerates them in contradistinction from the privileged estates of *Brāhmaṇa* and *Khattiya*: *hīnā nāmā jāti caṇḍālajāti veṇajāti nesādajāti pukkusajāti esā hīnā nāmā jāti* (II. 2. 1). These five appear associated in a conglomerate class of outcasts also in other passages (Mn. 93, 96, 129; An. II. 85; Sn. I. 93; Pug. IV. 19).

1. The *Caṇḍāla*

In Indian tradition the *caṇḍāla* has always been the by-word for subjection and contempt. The earliest references are seen in the *Yajurveda Samhitās* and in the *Upaniṣads*. They show clearly

Origio.

that the *caṇḍāla* was a degraded caste but yield no particulars.¹ Fick suggests that they were originally a tribal body.² After the first Aryan invasion the conquerors and the conquered were divided into two broad social categories,—*āryavarna* and *dāsavarna*. Gradually the *dāsavarna* or the defeated aboriginals yielded to numerous sub-castes or classes in a social hierarchy taking positions according to their loyalty to the victors and to the adoption of the foreign culture. Those who remained outside the Aryan social scheme were reduced to a medley of pariahs and under-dogs. Among these outcasts some were ethnic groups, held together by a common race (*hīnajāti*) humiliated for their despicable callings. The *caṇḍāla* was at the bottom of the ladder. The Brāhmanical theory that he is the issue of a Śūdra husband and a Brāhmaṇa wife reveals only a jealous attempt to preserve the purity of the stock against the growing menace of *pratiloma* marriage. If the children of these marriages did really sink down to the status of *caṇḍālas*, certainly that does not explain the origin of the caste and Fick's suggestion seems to be substantially correct.

That the *caṇḍālas* were aboriginal local tribes with their peculiar trades and professions and social customs crystallised later into a caste or community under the rigid isolation forced upon them by the Aryan or Aryanised society is gathered from the bulk of Pali evidences as well as Epic literature.

The Rāmāyaṇa depicts the *caṇḍāla* in the following strain : “ with blue complexion, blue robes
 Appearance. dishevelled locks, garlanded from the crematory, anointed with ashes from the same and adorned with iron ornaments.”

¹ Ch. Up., V. 107 ; 24.4 ; Āśv. Gr. S., iv. 1 ; Śāp. Gr. S., ii. 12 ; vi. 1, etc. Vājasaneyi-Śāp. xxx. 21 ; Tait. Br. iii. 4. 17. 1 ; Br. Up. iv. I. 22.

² Op. cit., 204 ff.

nīlavastradharo nīlaḥ paruṣo dhvastamūrdhajaḥ
cityamālyāṃgarāgaśca āyasābharāṇo'bhavat (I. 58. 10f).

Manu also enjoins that the dress of the *caṇḍāla* should consist of the garments of the dead and that black iron should be their ornament (X. 51).

In the *Mātanga Jātaka* he is described as "clad in a bad under-garment of red colour round which a belt is tied; above this a dirty upper garment, an earthen pot in hand"—*rattadupattam nivāsetvā kāyabandhanam bandhitvā paṃsukulasaṃghātiṃ pārupitvā mattikāpattam ādāya*....(IV. 379).

Manu also adds that he is "distinguished by marks at the king's command" (X. 55). *Medhātithi* understands these as external marks such as "axes, adzes and so forth used for executing criminals and carried on the shoulder." *Govindarāja* explains these as "sticks and so forth," *Nārāyaṇa* as "iron ornaments and peacock feathers and the like." But the more plausible is the explanation of *Rāghavānanda*, that they are to be branded on the forehead and on other parts of the body.

To the *caṇḍālas* were assigned certain despised professions befitting their rank which they had to pursue hereditarily. The *Arthaśāstra* fixes their habitat beside the crematorium (*pāṣaṇḍa-caṇḍālānām śmaśānānte vāsaḥ*, II. 4). *Manu* (X. 51) and *Viṣṇu* (XVI. 14) ordain that their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased. The occupation readily suggested by these injunctions is that of burning dead bodies. This was presumably not an independent profession but a compulsive service imposed on them by the state or society at large. *Manu* says: "In the daytime they may do the work assigned to them by order of the king; the corpse of anybody who has no relations they must carry out of the house—such is the standing rule" (X. 55). According to the commentary on the *Silavīmamsa Jātaka* a *caṇḍāla* is engaged in removing corpses (*chavachaddaka-*

Arts and Professions.
1. Corpse-burner.

caṇḍāla, III. 195). He is certainly the corpse-burner (chavadāhaka) who tops the list of despised professions in Milinda (p. 331).

The cremation of unclaimed dead bodies and those of criminals seem to be an associate function of the equally disreputable job of an executioner. ^{2. Public Executioner.} Manu says : “ Criminals they shall kill according to the law, by order of the king; the clothes of the criminals, their beds or other ornamental articles they may keep to themselves ” (X. 56) Viṣṇu says “ A caṇḍāla must live by executing criminals sentenced to death ” (XVI. 11). In the Anuśāsanaparva his duty is that of the public executioner (48. 11).¹ In the Arthaśāstra it is laid down that a caṇḍāla is to function for whipping a transgressing woman in the centre of the village (III. 3) and for dragging an attempting suicide with a rope along the public road (IV. 7). The idea of employing a caṇḍāla for these purposes was to add an insult to the injury inflicted on the culprit.

The caṇḍāla is sometimes seen also in the despised rôle of a hunter. ^{Hunter.} In the Śāntiparva, Mahābhārata he is an animal-trapper in a forest (138.23) and pursues his trade with a pack of dogs (138. 114). In the Arthaśāstra occurs a parable which conveys that a caṇḍāla usually profits by a fight between a dog and a pig (IX. 2). Manu assigns only dogs and donkeys as their wealth (X. 51). The profession of hunting is assigned to the caste known as niṣāda and the caṇḍāla is not commonly seen in this rôle. This may have been an occasional or an additional calling. Or the term caṇḍāla may have been

¹ Cf. a Jātaka sketch of the coraghātaka : attano cārīttena pharasuṇca kaṇṭaka-kasaṇca ādāya kāsāyanivāsino rattamāladharo (II. 41. 179). The caṇḍālas customarily wear a garland of red flowers (Jāt. III. 30). Their dress and ornaments presumably were not uniform since, according to the Smṛtis they had them as they found them in corpses brought for cremation.

used in a more generic sense covering all pariahs and outcasts among whom the *niṣāda* or animal-killer was one. This is the more probable explanation as we come across other occupations of a *caṇḍāla* which do not fit in with a corpse-carrier or an executioner. One is found to earn living by selling fruits out of season but it should be remembered that he is a Bodhisatta (Jāt. IV. 200). Another is found mending old things (jīṇṇapatisaṃkhāraṇaṃ karoti, Jāt. V. 429). The phrase 'mūlavyasanavṛttināṃ' used in Manu with reference to the occupation of a Sopāka Caṇḍāla is explained by Nārāyaṇa and Nandana as those who live by digging roots, i.e., in order to sell them as medicine. The *caṇḍāla* may appear with begging tray in hand (kaḷopihattha, An. IV. 375). In a Jātaka story a king is reduced to caṇḍālahood under the fury of his oppressed subjects (VI. 156). Evidently not the *caṇḍāla* caste but the general status of outcasts or degraded castes is meant.

The analysis of the phrase '*caṇḍāla-vamṣa-dhohanam*' which occurs in the Dīghanikāya (I. i. 13) and in the Cittasambhūta Jātaka is illuminating. 4. Acrobat and juggler. Rhys Davids renders it as 'acrobatic feats by *caṇḍālas*.' Rouse as 'the art of sweeping in the *caṇḍāla* breed' and Fick as 'the art of blowing a Caṇḍāla flute.' The annotation of Buddhaghosa in the Sumangalavilāsinī clarifies the cryptic expression. He treats the phrase as a compound of three separate things. 'Caṇḍāla' means 'ayoguḷa-kīlā,'—a trick with an iron ball, 'vamṣa' is 'veṇuṃ ussāpetvā kīḷaṇaṃ,' a trick with a bamboo pole (which is balanced on the juggler's forehead or throat while at the other end his pupil is poised. Com. Sn. 168), 'dhohanam' is 'aṭṭhidhovanam.' Here the scholiast refers to a barbarian custom in a certain *janapada* where corpses were not burnt but buried and when decomposed, were dug out; the bones were washed and buried again with balms. The funeral rite was accompanied with drinking bouts and

gusty wailings.—He quotes a passage from the Anguttaranikāya (V. 216) where the custom called ‘dhopanam’ is said to be prevailing in Southern India and hilariously observed with feasting, dancing, singing and merry-making. He adds significantly ‘Idha ekacce pana indajālena atthidhovanam dhopanan ti vadanti.’

Two things are apparent. Firstly, the custom certainly belongs to some aboriginal tribes particularly inhabiting Southern India and presumably to the *caṇḍālas*. Secondly, ‘dhopanam’ is a conjuring trick of bone-washing also presumably practised by *caṇḍālas*. The ball-trick and the pole-trick may be acrobatic feats or sleights of hand. What is gathered is that the *caṇḍālas* practised various sorts of magical and acrobatic feats peculiar to their breed (*caṇḍāla-kammam*). They displayed their art in public shows or on roadside which brought a few coppers from sight-seers.

The reference in the Anguttaranikāya to the custom prevailing in ‘southern districts’ weakens the comment of Fick that “the *caṇḍāla* village placed in the Citta-Sambhūta Jātaka in front of the gate of Ujjein and thus to the west of India, may have probably existed only in the imagination of the narrator who carried the narrow conditions of his home over the whole of India.”¹ There is nothing to show conclusively that the *caṇḍāla* caste was peculiar to the social organisation in Magadha and Vāṅga because their modern descendants are mostly located there and because Magadha and Videha are referred to by Manu as the land of mixed castes.

The *caṇḍāla* had to remain in strict isolation from civilised contact and at the bottom of the uncivilised society. “But (unlike all other castes) the residences of the *caṇḍālas* should be outside the village”—so ordains Manu (X. 51). “*Caṇḍālas* must live out of the town.....In

this their condition is different (from and lower than that of the other mixed castes)" —so lays down Viṣṇu (XVI. 14). "Endued with a dreadful disposition, he must live in the outskirts of cities and towns" (Mbh. XIII. 48. 1). In the Jātakas the *caṇḍālas* are always seen living outside the city gate (bahinagare, IV. 376, 390; VI. 156) in villages and settlements entirely by themselves (mahācaṇḍālāgamako, IV. 200; caṇḍālagāma, IV. 376, 390; caṇḍālavāṭakam, VI. 156). Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang corroborate the fact that they lived outside the city in their own villages. The latter adds that when they at all entered the municipal area, they had to travel along the left side of the road.

Elaborate rules of contact fortified the social partition. First and foremost, the rules of the table. The Brāhmaṇas of Kāsi who were thrown out of caste "having been made to taste the leavings of a Caṇḍāla" (caṇḍālucchiṭṭhabhatta) for their life, retired in shame to the kingdom of Mejjha (*mleccha*) and lived with the king of that country (Jāt. IV. 376 ff). In Buddha's own words food earned by unlawful means "is like the leavings of a Caṇḍāla";—the following Jātaka story narrates how a Brāhmaṇa takes the leavings of a *caṇḍāla* under pressure of hunger but later awakes to the disgrace done to his birth, clan and family, vomits out the food with blood and retires into the forest to die forlorn (II. 82 ff). The Smṛtis prohibit touching a *caṇḍāla* by higher castes for which purification by bathing is necessary (Āpas. II. i. 2. 8; Gaut. XIV. 30; Manu, V. 85; Vāś. XXIII. 33; Yāj. III. 30). Hence the wind and water that carry this contact is equally loathsome. Setaketu, the proud Brāhmaṇa pupil loathes the wind that brushes the body of a fellow *caṇḍāla* pupil (Jāt. III. 233). Another Brāhmaṇa in whose locks gets stuck a tooth-stick nibbled by a *caṇḍāla* and carried by river current, reviles and curses the culprit and compels him to move and live downstream

(IV. 376 ff; cf. Vin. IV. 203 ff). A parable in the Arthaśāstra shows that “a reservoir of water belonging to *caṇḍālas* is serviceable only to *caṇḍālas*, but not to others.....” (Yathā caṇḍālodapānaścaṇḍālānām-evopabhogyo nānyeṣām evamayam. I. 14). Even sight of and speech to them impurify (Manu, III. 239). Āpastamba says: “As it is sinful to touch a *caṇḍāla* so it is to speak to him or to look at him” (II. 1. 2. 8.). A merchant’s daughter and a chaplain’s daughter wash their eyes with scented water and turn their back at the sight of *caṇḍālas* which brings bad luck. The two creatures are beaten to a jelly by the people who forfeited the expected distribution of free food and liquor due to the evil omen (IV. 376 ff, 390 ff).

It is sickening to narrate the multifarious disabilities thrust upon these people to square up their isolation and to perpetuate their subjection and humiliation. “A man who fulfils a religious duty should not seek intercourse with them; their business they should conduct among themselves and their marriages they must contract with their equals. Their food must be given them by somebody other than an Aryan in a broken vessel; at night they shall not go about in the villages or in the towns” (Manu, X. 52 f). A student of the Vedas shall not study in a village where *caṇḍālas* live nor if a *caṇḍāla* is within sight (Āpas. I. 3. 9. 15-17; Gaut. XVI. 19; Vāś. XIII. 11). “If (while reciting the Vedas) they hear noises made by outcasts or *caṇḍālas*, they shall sit silent and fasting during three days” (Vāś. XXIII. 34). They are debarred from standing as witness except in case of transactions in their own community (Arth. III. 11; Manu, VIII. 64; Nār. I. 155). For touching one of a higher order they are to be fined (Arth. III. 19; cf. III. 20). For stealing an animal of a *caṇḍāla* the thief is fined only half of the standing rate (IV. 10).

Social and economic disabilities.

Nothing demonstrates more sharply the social status of a *caṇḍāla* than his very frequent classification with a dog (Āpas. II. 4. 9. 5; Gaut. XVII. 24; Vāś. XXIII. 33). A house-holder is to practise charity by throwing food outside the house on the ground for dogs, *caṇḍālas*, outcasts and crows (Vāś. XI. 9; Manu, III. 92). In the Mahābhārata he stands in the company of cows, elephants, dogs, ravens and vultures (VI. 29. 13; XII. 207. 42 ff). Manu extends the list to pig, cock, ass, camel and all and sundry animals (III. 239; XII. 52). "Raven of ill omen" is the common form of address to him (Jāt. III. 233, IV. 388). But he was not really as well off as these companions. The wind and sight of these animals did not pollute an Ārya, nor were the sacred Vedas profaned at their hearing or by their presence. The *caṇḍāla* was lower than the dog and the crow. In the Smṛti literature the *caṇḍāla* is the lowest of all mortals (Manu, X. 16, 26).

In popular literature "contemptuous as a *caṇḍāla*" has become a proverbial expression. Into the mouth of a young lioness to whom a jackal had made a proposal of marriage the words are put—"This jackal is considered low and wretched among the four-footed animals, similar to a *caṇḍāla* (*hīno patikuṭṭho caṇḍālasadiso*, II. 6). A Brāhmaṇa designates his adulterous wife as *pāpacaṇḍālī* (IV. 24 f).

The story of the Citta-Sambhūta Jātaka shows with pathetic clarity the mournful lot of these pariahs. Two *caṇḍāla* brothers living outside the city, display their simple arts outside the city gates. By accident and no fault of their own their loathsome sight is caught by two conceited women. They are mobbed almost to death. The thought comes to them,—“all this misery has come upon us because of our birth; we are not allowed to pursue our own trade” (*caṇḍālakammaṃ kātum na sakkhissāma*). They conceal

their birth and go to study at Taxila. Here again they are exposed by their dialect (*caṇḍalabbhāsā*) and driven out with blows for their audacity of intruding into the knowledge which was the preserve of the upper classes. The story also demonstrates how complete the isolation was—the isolation imposed by all the ingenuity that the priesthood was capable of—"that in the midst of a population speaking an Aryan dialect they preserved even in linguistic matters their racial individuality."¹

Was there no mitigation for the *caṇḍāla*? It is admitted that Śāstra rules do not reflect truly the actual conditions of society. But in this respect at least the popular stories of the Jātakas show that reality did not go very far from priestly theory. The few Jātaka stories that afford casual relief should be taken with some discount for the subject therein is always a Bodhisatta. In one case he dares to kick a fellow Brāhmaṇa pupil who is defeated in an academic dispute and the action is condoned by the teacher (III. 233). We have seen that the *caṇḍāla* was not at all admitted to the courses of learning. Elsewhere he is served by a Brāhmaṇa for a charm and the Bodhisatta motive comes out in the open when the latter loses it from denying his *caṇḍāla* teacher out of shame. The fitting conclusion is the sermon by a king that a teacher is always to be respected be he a Sudda, Caṇḍāla or Pukkusa (IV. 200 ff). In another story a *caṇḍāla* who is maltreated by a merchant's daughter, lies down in fast for six days at the merchant's doors, obtains the girl for wife and compels her to carry him on her back to his village (IV. 376).² Every available testimony goes to show that the fellow would have been flayed or lynched no less than a Negro who would show the same temerity with a Yankee woman a few years ago.

¹ Fick : *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

² The apology is expressly given.—"For the resolve of such a man (Bodhisatta)—so it is said, always succeeds."

In a discourse to the Brāhmaṇa Aggikabhāradvāja Gotama cites the instance of Mātanga,¹ a *caṇḍāla* who reached the highest fame and went to the Brahmaloḥa while many high-bred Brāhmaṇas owing to their sinful deeds are blamed in this world and goes to hell after death. Hence not by birth is one a pariah or a Brāhmaṇa, by act one is a pariah or a Brāhmaṇa (Sut. V. 138. 142)

Na jaccā vasalo hoti
Na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo
Kammanā vasalo hoti
Kammanā hoti brāhmaṇo

• But why had he to fall back upon the next world to vouchsafe reward or punishment? The brutal level to which these people were kept precluded any question of their admittance to the centres of learning and enlightenment. The platitudes of the Suttas go down before the hard facts revealed in the Jātaka stories. Of physical tyranny and economic subjection of class by class, history has abundant instances. But it is doubtful whether to the segregation and soul-killing device innovated by the Ārya for a *caṇḍāla* there is any parallel.

II. The Pukkusa

Nothing can be definitely said about the origin or the occupation of these people. Even their
Origin. name is subjected to a wide range of variants. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad has Paulkasa, the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā spells as Puklaka or Pulkaka (1. 6. 11), the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā as Paulkāsa (XXX. 17). The Arthaśāstra gives Pulkasa. In the Smṛtis they appear as Pukkasa while the Pali form is Pukkusa consistently. Like the *caṇḍāla* the *pukkasa* of the Smṛtis is a mixed

¹ Cf. Jātaka, IV. 376ff. ; Manu, IX. 14.48.

caste, but opinions differ about his descent. The Arthaśāstra says that he is the issue of a *niṣāda* on an *ugra* woman (III. 7), Manu (X. 18) and Bodhāyana (I. 8. 11), on a Sūdra woman. According to Viṣṇu (XVI. 5) and Vasiṣṭha (XVIII. 5) he is born of a Kṣatriya woman by a Vaiśya father, according to Gautama (IV. 19), by a Sūdra father.

Viṣṇu ordains that the *pukkasa* must live by hunting (XVI. 9). Manu assigns him "catching and killing of animals living in holes" along with two other mixed castes, viz., *kṣattrys* and *ugras* (X. 49). In the Pali literature he appears in an altogether different rôle. The commentary on the *Silavimamsa Jātaka* explains him as one living by removing flowers (*pupphachaḍḍaka-pukkusa*, III. 195). The *pupphachaḍḍaka* also appears in the *Milinda* in a circle of despised castes and professions (p. 331). In the *Theragāthā* his occupation appears to be the removing of faded flowers from temples and palaces. Fick is thus led to state: "I don't believe that the Pukkusas were a special professional class but a race that lived generally by hunting and only occasionally by dirty work, like cleaning temples and palaces."¹ Dhammapāla's commentary, however, throws more light on his functions. Thera Sunīta born as a *pupphachaḍḍaka*, earned his living as a street-sweeper, not making enough to kill his hunger. In early dawn he cleared the street of Rājagaha, collecting scraps, rubbish and so on into heaps, and filling therewith the baskets he carried on a yoke.

Whatever their origin and profession, one thing remains certain,—that they were a despised race whose lot was almost as bad as that of the *caṇḍāla*. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* *paulkasa*

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 206. On the *pukkusa* Rhys Davids says in the *Pali Dictionary*,—"name of a (non-Aryan) tribe, hence designation of a low social class, the members of which are said (in the *Jātakas*) to earn their living by means of refuse-clearing."

is the name of a despised race of men along with the *caṇḍāla* (IV. 3. 22). In *Manu* (XII. 55) and in the *Yājñavalkya* (III. 20) they are classed with *caṇḍālas* and various breeds of animals as creatures in whose wombs a Brāhmaṇicide is born. In the *Anuśāsanaparva* they are the progeny of the *caṇḍālas*, eat the flesh of asses, horses and elephants, and just like the *caṇḍālas* wear clothes procured by stripping human corpses and eat off broken earthenware (43. 24). In the *Jātakas* they are very commonly bracketted with the *caṇḍālas*. Like that of their bedfellows their sight was unseemly. Elder *Sunīta* plied his trade in early dawn obviously to escape sight. When *Buddha* was approaching with his train, finding no place to hide in on the road, he placed his yoke in a bend of the wall and stood as if stuck to the wall. He speaks of himself in the *Theragāthā* : “ Of low family am I, I was poor and needy. Low was the work I did, namely that of removing faded flowers. I was despised by man, held in low esteem and reproved.”¹

Nīce kulambhi jāto 'ham daḷiddo appabhojano ;
hīnam kammaṃ mamaṃ āsi, ahoṣiṃ pupphachaddako,
620.
jigucchito manussānaṃ paribhūto ca vambhito
nīcaṃ maṇaṃ karitvāna vandissaṃ bahukaṃ jaṇaṃ, 621.

III. The *Nesāda*

According to the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Dharmaśāstras*, the *niśāda* is the offspring of a Brāhmaṇa on a *Sūdra* woman. Fick groups him like the *caṇḍāla* and the *pukkusa* among the “ ethnic castes ” held together by a common race. The derivation of the word (*ni*—down, *sad*—settle) indicates those who have

Origin and identity.

¹ Cf. Oldenberg : *Buddha*, p. 159.

settled down, *i.e.*, the settled, aboriginals.¹ As pointed out by Macdonell and Keith,² this view of Weber is supported by the fact that the ritual of the Viśvajit sacrifice requires a temporary residence with *niṣādas*, for the *niṣādas* who would permit an Aryan to reside temporarily amongst them, must have been partially amenable to Aryan influence. But the name appears in early Vedic literature also as a general term for the non-Aryan tribes outside the Aryan organisation like the Śūdras; for Aupamanyava (Yāska : Nirukta, iii. 8) took the five peoples (*pañca janāḥ*) to be the four castes (*catvāra varṇāḥ*) and the *niṣādas* and the commentator Mahīdhara explains the word where it occurs in the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā as meaning a Bhilla or Bhil (XVI. 27; *cf.* XXX. 8).

Apparently, the *niṣādas* like the *caṇḍālas* were originally a tribal group that lived mainly by hunting and fishing, the professions which represent the lowest stage of human culture. In India these bore the additional stigma of killing living beings.³ This stigma and the consequent isolation retarded racial admixture and these people retained their tribal characteristic within the Aryan structure. In the Pali and Sanskrit literature we hear not only of villages and settlements but also of states, kings and armies of *niṣādas*. The legal definition of their origin however shows that the racial isolation gradually slackened under the stress of material circumstances. A Brāhmaṇa youth adopts the occupation of a hunter when he cannot maintain himself by any other art and dwells in a border village or outside city gate (Jāt. II. 200; VI. 170). Among the ten callings of a straying Brāhmaṇa appears the hunter's (IV. 361ff).

Caste or profession?

¹ Rhys Davids gives in Pali Dictionary 'one who lies in wait.'

² *Vedic Index*.

³ *Dūṣitaḥ sarvalokeṣu niṣādatvaṃ gamiṣyati*
Prāṇātīpātānirato niranukrośatāp gataḥ,

Rām. I. 59. 21.

The profession followed by the entire branch of a low race took the shape of a caste when it was reinforced by infiltration from higher caste-orders.

It is not to be supposed that the profession of animal-killing was confined to a specific tribe or caste or that all those who took to it received the stamp of a specific caste-denomination called the *niṣāda*. *Hunter par excellence.* Manus assigns slaughter of wild animals to the mixed castes of Medas, Andhras, Cuñcus and Madgus, of cave-dwelling animals to Pukkusas, Kṣattris and Ugras while reserving killing of fish to Niṣādas (X. 48f). Elsewhere snaring animals is attributed as a supplementary occupation to the mixed caste of Sairandhra (X. 32). Megasthenes' fourth class of population consists of aboriginal herdsmen and hunters—"those who alone are allowed to kill animals," representing a professional class rather than a tribal or caste group. What may be inferred is that these professions were pursued more or less by all aboriginals although the *niṣāda* tribes were hunters *par excellence*, so much so that a professional hunter came to be called a *niṣāda* in popular parlance whatever his tribal origin.

The strictly professional name as distinguished from the racial is 'luḍḍaka' for hunter and *Luḍḍaka and Kevaṭṭa.* 'kevaṭṭa' (Sans. *kaivarta*) for the fisherman or boatman. In the Pali works we come across the *vattakaluḍḍako* (Jāt. I. 208, 434; II. 113), the *godhaluḍḍako* (I. 488; III. 107), the *tittiraluḍḍako* (III. 64), the *migaluḍḍako* (II. 153; III. 49, 170, 185) according as the hunter or fowler specialised in stalking a particular beast or bird and purveyed its flesh. The *kaivarta* likewise seems to be a professional and not a tribal name. It does not appear in the Smṛti lists of mixed castes. According to the nomenclature of Manus the caste name corresponding to the fishing profession is *mārgava* or *dāsa* begotten by

a *niṣāda* on an *āyogava* woman (another mixed caste) and “subsisting by working as a boatman whom the inhabitants of Āryāvarta call a *kaivarta*” (X. 34). The *niṣāda* king Guha is seen ready with his flotilla of 500 boats and hundreds of *kaivarta* soldiers in anticipation of Bharata’s hostility to Rāma (Rām. II. 84. 8). Within the profession of *niṣāda*, fishing appears as a matter of course, as much as hunting (Mbh. I. 28; Jāt. VI. 71f).

As these people excelled in bagging the different species of the four-footed, feathered and finny
 Arts and Appliances. races, their arts, appliances and accomplices differed accordingly. The quail-trapper nets quails by gathering the birds with the imitation of the note of a quail (Jāt. I. 208, 434; II. 113) and the partridge-catcher snares his preys by means of a decoy bird (III. 64).¹ The iguana-trapper goes to the forest to dig out iguanas with spades and dogs (godhābīlaṃ bhindanattāya kuddālaṃ gabetvā sunakhehi saddhiṃ araṇṇaṃ pāvisi. I. 488). The deer-stalker marks the whereabouts of deer from their foot-prints traced from the water-place, sets the toils (migaluḍḍako vaddhamayaṃ pāsanaṃ oḍḍetvā agamāsi, II. 153) and bags his victim with sword and spear (asiṇ ca sattiṇ ca, III. 185). Bows and arrows instead of the snare and the sword or spear were also used (II. 200). For fishing purposes, nets were the commonest instruments while the line (bālīsiko bālīsena maccha uddharati. Mil. 412; cf. Jāt. I. 482; Sn. II. 225f) and the wicker-cage (kumināni, Jāt. I. 427) set in pits and holes of rivers (nadīkandarādisu, II. 238) were also in use. It is not always however that the *nesāda* specialised in killing a particular animal and very often all manners of birds, beasts and fishes came within his pursuit (II. 200; VI. 71f., 170).

¹ Just like his modern prototype. The santhals, kols and other aboriginals still catch partridges and doves by the same artifice.

The professional hunter of course sells his bag,—beast, bird or fish to the market place in the adjoining city. He may have a modest catch that can be carried on a pole (VI. 170) or there may be a windfall so that he drives a cart-load of venison (III. 49). The hunters probably disposed of their booty to the retailers who ran stalls of different varieties of flesh in the market place.¹ There were also people who did not dispose of their prize but lived upon them direct. “Certain men of the marches (of Benares) used to make a settlement wherever they could best find their food, dwelling in the forest, and killing for meat for themselves and their families the game which abounded there” (IV. 289). This is reminiscent of the accounts of Diodorus and Arrian on the wild nomadic tribes who lived on chase outside human dwellings. As the conquerors appropriated land of the superior grade, the more conservative of the original settlers withdrew to the marches where land offered little attraction to the tiller. Hunting, animal-keeping and free-booting became the occupation of these Bohemians. They were less amenable to Aryan culture and consequently accorded a more dishonourable status than their more settled compatriots.

It is not possible with available data to fix the geographical regions where the hunting and fishing folk were mainly located. Probably they were scattered all over the country, generally grouped in their own villages, situated outside the borders of cities as usual with other despised professions and castes, and generally fitted in a structure of communal economy. They are referred to as plying their nets jointly and as being obedient to one another’s bidding (*anyonyavaśavarttinah*. Mbh. XIII.

¹ Goghātako, orobhiko, sūkariko, māghaviko, sākuntiko, etc. are butchers in different varieties of flesh and not keepers or hunters of different animals.

50). Elder Yasoja was born at the gate of the city of Sāvattthi in a fishers' village, as the son of the headman of the 500 fishermen's families who fished together in the river Aciravatī (Therag. 243ff). The anglers (bālisikā) in another village are in the habit of sharing their prize as it appears from a ruse planned by one of them who had a snag in his tackle and took it to be a big fish :

puttakam mātu santikam pesetvā paṭivissakehi saddhim kalaham kārāpemi, evaṃ ito na koci koṭṭhāsam paccāsim-sissati (Jāt. I. 482).

Elder Losaka Tissa was born in a fishing village of a thousand families (kulasahassavāse kevaṭṭagāme) in Kosala of which the 1,000 heads went together to fish in river and pool (I. 234). Elsewhere fishing *niṣādas* are found to live in a remote region in the midst of the ocean (samudrakukṣā-vekānte niṣādālayamuttamam, Mbh. I. 28). The fishing tribes of the western countries brought tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira (II. 32. 10). In a Jātaka story are found two villages of hunters near Benares on the two banks of a river each with a chief over its 500 families (VI. 71f). A *nesādagāma* near Benares is very common reference (II. 36; IV. 413; V. 337; Therīg. Com. 291ff) and such villages are seen as early as in the Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (VIII. 2. 8).

Von Schroeder suggests identification of *niṣādas* with Nysaeans who, according to the Greek memoirs sent an embassy to Alexander when he was in the land of the Aśvakas.¹ The identification however is doubtful. Varāhamihira recognises a kingdom (rāṣṭra) of the *niṣādas* in the south-east of the Madhyadeśa (Br. Sam. XIV. 10). Guha's principality was situated on the banks of the Ganges beyond Kośala with the city of Śṛṅgavera (Rām. II. 50; 83. 19).

¹ *Indien Literatur und Cultur*, p. 366.

The *nesāda* was despised both for his profession and for his birth. His was a despicable pursuit
 Social position. (luddācāra khuddācārā'ti, Dn. XXVII. 25).

That animal-killing was stigmatised is evident throughout the Jātakas. It is among the ten pursuits of straying Brāhmaṇas. A king asks a hunter to give up his calling and adopt agriculture, trade and usury (IV. 422). A *setṭhi*'s son also dissuades a *luḍḍaka* from his profession (III. 51). It is given that these ill-behaved people (dussīlānaṃ miga-luḍḍaka-macchabandhādīnaṃ) receive but do not follow the law (III. 170). In the Mahābhārata a long tribute is paid by Śakra to the *niṣāda* king Nala who is well-versed in all duties, conducts himself always with rectitude, has studied the Vedas. . . , leads a life of *harmlessness unto all creatures*, is truth-telling and firm in his vows and in his house the gods are ever gratified by sacrifices held according to the ordinance. In that tiger among men—that king resembling a *lokapāla* in truth, forbearance, knowledge, asceticism, purity, self-control and perfect tranquility of soul. . . '2 and so on (III. 58. 8-11). According to the Brāhmaṇical rules, a Śūdra is not allowed to read the Vedas nor to perform sacrifices, not to speak of a *niṣāda*. The picture is unreal and the encomiums may not be taken to suggest that a *niṣāda* who gave up his trade was promoted from his order to higher ranks.

A more realistic account is that of the *niṣāda* king Guha who claims Rāma's friendship and is embraced by the latter. But neither Rāma nor Bharata accepted the food offered by him. Unlike the Vānara and the Rākṣasa allies, this *niṣāda* king does not figure in the sacrificial rites and public jublations held after Rāma's return from exile to Ayodhyā. The *niṣāda* was a despised creature, both by birth and profession, and stood just above the *caṇḍāla* and the *pukkusa* in the scale of social gradation.

IV. The Veṇa

Like the *nesāda*, the *veṇa* and the *rathakāra* were according to Rhys Davids “aboriginal Professional Castes. tribes who were hereditary craftsmen in these crafts.”¹ Fick describes them as “professional castes” or “non-Aryan races who, although they stood on a higher culture-level than the hunting and fishing races, engaged in branches of profession the practice of which presupposed no acquaintance with metals and their employment and were therefore held in low esteem by the Aryans who worked with iron instruments.”² The Aryans advancing along the Gangetic plains gave the original settlers names after the material with which they worked. Thus the ‘bamboo-worker’ and the ‘carriage-builder’ became names of tribes or castes (*jāti*).

The *veṇa*, literally, is one working with bamboo reeds. In the Vedas, *veṇu* is mentioned as a reed of bamboo; but *veṇa*, *vaiṇa* or *veṇukāra* are not seen.³ Apart from the Pali passages referred to above, the *veṇa* appears at the end of the Milinda list of crafts and professions along with the *chavadāhaka*, *pupphachaḍḍaka* and *nesāda*. In a Jātaka verse the *veṇī* is bracketed with the *caṇḍālā* (sic) as a term of rebuke (V. 306). The *veṇukāra* or *velukāra* who goes into the forest with his knife to collect a bundle for his trade (Jāt. IV. 251) is probably another name of the same “functional caste” who ranks in the conventional fashion along with the *caṇḍālā*, *pukkusa* and *rathakāra* in the Lalita Vistara as *hīnakula* in which a Bodhisatta is not reborn (Ch. III).

The tribal craft of these people was working with reeds, i.e., basket-making and flute-making. Dhammapāla

¹ *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, p. 100.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

³ In the Arthaśāstra, the *vaiṇa* is the issue of an Ambaṣṭha on a Vaidehika woman (III. 7).

explains them as a caste working on willows and reeds (venim vā ti venajātikā vilivakāra-naḷakārā, PvA, p. 175). The Jātaka commentary on *venī* (V. 306) explains it by *tacchikā*,—a carpenter's widow.¹ Probably the original bamboo-working race was not always rigidly identified with its profession. Manu defines the function of the *vena* as playing drums (X. 49) while the craft of making baskets and other things with cleft bamboos is ascribed to the *pāṇḍusaupaka* caste originating from the *caṇḍāla* (Mbh. XIII. 48. 26; cf. Manu, X. 37).

V. The Rathakāra

. The *rathakāra* or chariot-maker is in the Atharvaveda one of those subject to the king (III. 5. 6) apparently standing as an example of the industrial population. It appears definitely as a caste-name in the Yajurveda Saṃhitās (Kāth. XVII. 13; Mait. II. p. 5; Vāj. XVI. 17, XXX. 6) and in the Brāhmaṇas (Tait. I. 1. 4. 8; III. 4. 2. 1; Śat. XIII. 4. 2. 17). In the Yājñavalkya he is the progeny of a *māhiṣya* (Kṣatriya father+Vaiśya mother) and a *karaṇī* (Vaiśya father+Śūdra mother). In later literature he is a caste below the Vaiśya but superior to the Śūdra.² He is a functional caste like the *takṣaka* and the *dhaivara*, the carpenter and the fisherman respectively in the Vedic literature, held as inferior to the *ārya* orders. His further deterioration in social esteem is exhibited much later in the Pali texts quoted above. In the Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka he figures in a low series with the *pukkusa* and the *vesa* (VI. 142).³

¹ Thus one despised caste is explained by means of another. In the Vedic literature the *takṣaka* or joiner appears in a low role.

² Weber: *Indische Studien*, 10, 12, 13. Hillebrandt suggests that the Anu tribe formed the basis of this caste, referring to their worship of the Rbhus who are chariot-makers *par excellence*. *Vedische Mythologie*, 3, 152 f.

³ In the Arthaśāstra, the *rathakāra*'s is a profession prescribed for the mixed caste of Vaiśya (III. 7), but in the previous chapter, it is a caste-name.

This *rathakāra* whose very appellation indicates the function of chariot-building, became associated in course of time with a new craft, that of working on leather. Probably this transformation from a comparatively less to a more disrespectable pursuit took place in the Gangetic regions and probably this also explains the consequent deterioration in social status of the caste as seen in Pali literature. In the Majjhima the artisan who is shaping an axle of a chariot (*rathassa nemim*) is not a *rathakāra* but a *yānakāra* (I. 5). In the Jātaka verses the metaphor occurs twice,—“just as the *rathakāra* cuts the shoe according to the skin” (*rathakāro va cammassa parikantam upāhanam*, IV. 172; *rathakāro va parikantam upāhanam*, VI. 51). In the first, the commentary explains *rathakāra* as *cammakara*. The commentary on the Petavatthu also explains *rathakārin* as *cammakārin* (III. 1. 13). But certainly there was no complete overlapping of the two crafts in the same caste, for the *cammakāra* and the *rathakāra* are both mentioned side by side in the Milinda list referred to above.¹

That the two were not identified is also proved by the enumeration of the *cammakārasippam* among the set of despised callings cited in contradistinction from the despised castes. The occupation of a cobbler was held disreputable in all quarters. Manu assigns working in leather to the mixed castes of *kārāvara* and *dhigvaṇa* (X. 36. 49); this *kārāvara* again, is said to be begotten by a *cammakāra* on a *niṣāda* woman (Mbh. XIII. 48. 26).² Food offered by the shoe-maker is not to be taken by a Brāhmaṇa (Mbh. XII. 37. 31). Even trading

¹ Cowell and Rouse find a puzzle in this dual function of the Rathakāra and take refuge in the suggestion that he might be the worker of wooden shoes.

² According to Manu however, by a *niṣāda* man on a *vaideha* woman.

in iron and leather is censurable (vikrayam lohacarmanah, XII. 295. 5 f).

The leather-worker's was a developed art. He did not make shoes only. He prepared leather-sack holding a hog'shead's weight (kumbha-kara-gāhikam cammabhastam),¹ leather ropes and straps, shoes "big enough for an elephant," and leather parachute (cammachatta) by means of which a hunter flies down a mountain (Jāt. V. 45 f). He worked shields of 100 layers, of superb workmanship (phalasatam² cammam hontimantī-suniṭṭhitam, VI. 454). He is among the eighteen *senis* of artisans who build a king's dwellings in Uttarapañcāla (VI. 427).

The conventional Pali list does not certainly exhaust the medley of castes and tribes who either because of their race or for low occupations remained outside the pale of the Aryan culture. Under the general brand of *mleccha* passed the procession of indigenous and foreign barbarians in the Epics,—the Pahlavas, Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Kirātas, Cīnas, Hunas and so forth. Sinful races who act like *caṇḍālas*, ravens and vultures are Andhakas, Guhas, Pulindas, Śavaras, Cucukas and Madrakas in the South and Yaunas, Kāmbojas, Gandhāras and Kirātas in the North (Mbh. XII. 207. 42 ff). The Yonas, Kāmbojas and Gandhāras settled in the North-West Frontier Province. Among the Yona, the Brāhmaṇa and Śramaṇa had no foothold in Aśoka's time (R.E., V.). Among them and the Kāmbojas, it is said in the Majjhima, there were only two castes, *ārya* and *dāsa* (d'eva vaṇṇā ayyo c'eva dāso ca) and where a *dāsa* can be an *ārya* and an *ārya* a *dāsa* (93).

¹ Cf. the *cammamāluka* or the leather sack used to carry earth dug out of a tunnel (Jāt. VI. 432).

² Phalasatappamāṇam bahukhāre khādāpetva mudubbāvaṇṇaṃ upanītacammaṃ,—Com.

The Andhras occupied the land beyond the Godavari,—the southern part of the Central Provinces and Nizam's dominions. The Pulindas, though scattered over many provinces appear mainly in the north and north-east of the Andhras (R. E. XIII).¹ The Ābbīras who earned notoriety as a tribe of robbers (Rām. VI. 22. 30 f) infested the western coast south of Guzrat.

In the Arthaśāstra, the *mlecchas* figure as savage, barbarian tribes inhabiting the frontiers (VII. 10, 14; XII. 4). They are associated with criminals (XIII. 5) and the sardonic author finds in them a good recruiting ground for spies and agents provocateurs (I. 12, XIV. 1).

To Megasthenes some of these tribes were reported as pigmies waging war with cranes and partridges; to the author of the Periplus they are savage and cannibal races—the Cirrhadoe the Bargysi, the Horse-faces and Long-faces who inhabited the North or the Himalayan valleys.

Apart from these the Smṛtis enumerate as many as fifteen mixed castes (apasada) ascribing some particular infamous occupation to each of them. The elaborate regulations on these mixed castes and their unmitigated denunciation would not have been necessary unless there was a real menace to the purity of the Aryan stock from connubial relations with non-Aryan tribes. Racial admixture was laid under the strictest interdict and the progeny of the violation of Aryan blood, relegated to all sorts of impure crafts and callings, were debased into the lowest stratum of social conformation.

Mixed castes.

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar : *Asoka*.

CHAPTER IV

DESPISED CRAFTS AND CALLINGS

The *hīnasippa*. (1) Basket-maker (2) Cobbler (3) Potter (4) Weaver (5) Barber (6) Acrobat (7) Snake-charmer (8) Snake-doctor (9) Physician (10) Miscellaneous (11) Vagrancy.

The Suttavibhanga Pācittiya enumerates the five low occupations as distinct from the five low castes :

*Hīnam nāma sippaṃ naḷakārasippaṃ kumbhakārasippaṃ pesakārasippaṃ cammakārasippaṃ nahāpitasippaṃ tesutesu va pana janapadesu oññātaṃ avaññātaṃ hīlitaṃ paribhūtaṃ acittikataṃ, etaṃ hīnaṃ nāma sippaṃ. II. 2. 1.

It would seem that for those who made their living by these trades there was no hard and fast line determined by birth. But on the other hand the tendency is very clear for the son to follow the father's craft. The association thus begun and the stigma laid on these crafts resulted in the course of centuries into complete identification of the craft with birth and the crystallisation of thorough-going and hide-bound castes on the basis of particular professions.

1. The Basket-maker and 2. The Leather-worker

That caste and profession were fast converging and assuming a common border-line is clearly understood from the enumeration of the *naḷakāra* and the *cammakāra* among the crafts after the *veṇa* and *rathakāra* are cited to illustrate caste groups. We have seen the annotator explain *veṇa* as *naḷakāra* (PvA.p. 175). The *naḷakāra* works with *veṇu*

or reeds.¹ So the *rathakāra* and the *cammakāra* are used indiscriminately to denote the leather-worker.

3. The Potter

The Potter made earthen pots with clay and the wheel just as in the present day in the villages of India (Jāt. III. 368; Sn. II. 83; Mbh. XI. 3. 11 ff). He made vases with various artistic designs painted on them (Jāt. V. 291). The son generally followed the father's trade (II. 79; III. 376); but the mention of the *antevāsi* and the *ācariyo* in connection with this and similar petty professions implies that these were not necessarily hereditary (Jāt. V. 290 f; Dn. II. 88). The apprentice after learning the art from the master would certainly set up an establishment of his own or succeed to his master's.

The *kumbhakāra* is sometimes seen settled in villages outside city-gates (Jāt. III. 376, 508). But he does not generally appear in very dark colours. The potter Ghaṭikāra is a bosom friend (*piyasahāyo*) to the Brāhmaṇa Jotipāla, so much so that the two go to bathe together and the former even pulls the latter by the locks as an appeal to go to see Kassapa (Mn. 81).

4. The Weaver

The weaver was the *pesakāra* or the *tantavāya* both of which were synonymous (Com. Vin. III. 259). Some sort of corporate life or guild organisation seems to have developed among this profession. We hear of "weavers' quarter" (*tantavītatataṭṭhānam*) in a *nigamagāma* (Jāt. I. 356) and of

¹ Pītāputtā naḷakārā.....gangāttire veḷup upadhārentā, Jāt. IV, 318; naḷakāra-jeṭṭhaka.....puttēna siddhīn gantvā tan veṇugumban chinditun ārabhi, Dhpa.I. 177. Cf. Prince Kusa who enlists himself as an apprentice to a *naḷakāra* serving a royal house, makes a palm-leaf fan (*tālavantam*) with paintings upon it; Jāt. V. 291 f.; basket-makers weaving a mat—naḷakārā kilāṇjam cinanti, II. 301.

“weavers’ street” (*pesakāravīthi*) outside a city (DhpA. I. 424). Four weavers in Benares would divide the proceeds of their trade into five shares, taking one each and giving away the fifth in common on charity (Jāt. IV. 475). In the *Petavatthu* *Atthakathā* eleven *pesakāras* with a *jetṭha-pesakāra* entertain a *bhikkhu* to cordial hospitality (pp. 42ff).

The *pesakāra* is loosely defined as a craft and as a *vaṇṇa* (DhpA. I. 428). He is presented with the *kappaka*, the *naḷakāra* and the *kumbhakāra* in a list of ordinary craftsmen (*puṭhusippāyatanāni*) who maintain themselves and their parents and children and friends in happiness and comfort (Dn. II. 14). But his trade was not a lucrative one apparently because of the degradation of his race and craft (*lāmakakamma*, Jāt. I. 356). A weaver (*tantavāya*) dwelling outside city (*babinagare*) who was spreading the threads (*tantam pasāreti*) while her daughter moved the shuttle (*tasaran vaḍḍheti*) even when he was caught with senile decay was considered the poorest man in the city by *Mahākassapa* (*ime mahallakakāle pi kammaṃ karonti, imasmin nagare imehi duggatatarā natthi manne*, DhpA. I. p. 424). A *sāmaṇera* (novice monk) who is in love with a weaver’s daughter is thus questioned by her parents: “*tvam amhe uccākulā ti sallakkhesi. Mayan pesakārā, sakkhissasi pesakārakammaṃ kātun ti ?*” The love-lorn monk gallantly retorts: “*gihibhūto nāma pesakārakammaṃ vā kāreyya, naḷakārakammaṃ vā, kin iminā ?*”; and he obtains the girl and adopts the weaver’s trade (VbhA. 294 f).

5. The Barber

The barber (*nahāpita*, *kappaka*) used to do shaving, hair-dressing, cross-plaiting, shampooing, etc. (*massukaraṇa-kesautṭhāpana-aṭṭhapadaṭṭhapanādīni sabba kiccāni karoti*, Jāt. II. 5). His was a definitely dishonourable status. A court-valuer sneaks at a king’s miserly offer to his prognoses as a barber’s gift (*nahāpitādayo*) and resigns (Jāt. IV. 137).

A barber after becoming a *paccekabuddha* addresses the king, his late master by his family name and the crowd is infuriated at such audacity on the part of a low-caste person whose occupation is clearing of dirt (hīnajacco malamajjano nahāpitaputto, III. 453 ; II. 452). A barber asks his son to give up his ambition for a Licchavi princess as *hīnajacca*. The contrast set forth at the introduction of a story which recounts a similar fancy of a jackal for a lioness significantly reveals the depraved status of a barber ; he is the same to a royal family as the jackal to a lion (II. 5).¹

Was the barber's a more respectable calling in farther west from the Gangetic plains ? In the Milinda list of crafts and professions he stands in company with cooks, smiths, florists, bathers, etc.² This profession is not stigmatised in the law-books or in relevant passages of the Epics. A Snātaka is allowed food offered by a barber (Manu, IV. 253) but not by other artisans (214-20). Even to-day his position is not very dishonourable and he performs important functions in the family ceremonies of the upper orders.

6. The Acrobat, Magician and Dancer

Acrobats, dancers and jugglers (naṭa-nartaka) form a class by themselves. Very often these arts were combined in the same persons. They entertained citizens in the *samājas* or festive amusements (Rām. I. 18. 18 f ; II. 6. 14 ; 67. 9 ff) or roamed about exhibiting their skill (sippam dassento vicarati, Jāt. I. 430 ; māyaṃ vidhamseyya, Sn. III. 141) on the highroad.

Interesting specimens of this art are given. A man born in a jumper's family (lamghana naṭaka yoniyam paṭi-sandhim gahetvā) lived with his pupil on the display of his

¹ The royal barber is occasionally seen in friendly intercourse with the employer (Jāt. I. 137 ; Vin. VII. 14).

² Cf. Dn. II. 14.

feat (*lamghanasippam*) which consisted in setting up a number of javelins in a row and dance through them (*ibid.*). Elsewhere two magician *naṭas* show their tricks. One of them conjures up a mango tree, climbs it and gets himself chopped to pieces by the slaves of Vessavana. His accomplices join the pieces together, pour water and bring him back to life. The other walks into fire with his troupe and comes out unscathed when the fire is burnt out (*Jāt. IV. 324*). Another conjurer swallows a sword 33 *angulas* long and of sharp edge, before a gathering (*III. 338*). The *Arthaśāstra* explains several magical tricks like fire-walking, fire in water, breaking of chains, acquirement of invisibility, etc., many of these in a sham manner (*XIV. 2, 3*).

These trades served as a wide channel for the wasting of the rich man's money. In the *Sigālovada Sutta* (*Dn.*) the six dangers at a *samajjā* are dancing, singing, music, recitations, conjuring tricks and acrobatic shows (*cf. Dn. I. i. 13*). A prodigal son squanders paternal wealth of 40 crores on drinking, gluttony and debauchery and on jumpers, runners, singers and dancers (*lamghanadhāvanagītanaccādīni, Jāt. II. 431*). But it does not seem that this money went to the pocket of the struggling man who was half an artist and half a tramp and who is uniformly portrayed as a wretched and despicable creature. The poor jumper who kills himself in trying to clear five spears instead of four which was within his practice (*Jāt. I. 430*), the dancer who drinks himself to death with all the earnings by his performance in a fête (*III. 507*), the impoverished family of acrobats (*naṭa-kakula*) reduced to begging (*II. 167*) are typical representatives of a class living a marginal existence. Presumably the rich gamblers betted in shows run by a parasitic set of people with professional jumpers and sprinters.

In the *Milinda* list of crafts, the *naṭaka*, *naccaka*, *lamghaka*, *indajālika*, and *malla* come in a series on the wake of the *māṃsika* and the *majjika*,—the butcher and the brewer.

Practice of dancing involves loss of caste (Manu, XI. 66). The professional dancer is among those from whom a Brāhmaṇa is not to take food (Mbh. XII. 37. 31). Viṣṇu assigns artistic performances like public wrestling and dancing to the *āyogava* caste generated by a Śūdra father on a Vaiśya mother (XVI. 8).

7. The Snake-charmer

Like the acrobat, the snake-charmer showed his tricks (*ahigūṇḍike sippam kīlāpenti*, Jāt. II. 429) in festivals (*ussava*) very often with a monkey in his party (II. 267; III. 198; IV. 308). His was a highly developed and well-cultivated art (*ahivijjā*, Dn. I. i. 21). A Brāhmaṇa learns charms from a world-renowned teacher at Taxila and adopts the profession. He approaches a python (which is a Bodhisatta) with magical herbs and repeating magical spells (*dibbasodhāni gahetvā dibbamantam parivattetvā*). The reptile feels its ears pierced as it were with burning splinters, its head as though broken by the blow of a sword (*kāṇṇesu tattasalākappavesanakālo viyo jāto, mattaho sikharena abhimatthiyamāno viya jāto*). He spits upon it eating herbs and repeating charms and raises blisters in its body. The teeth are then broken by the same process and the body of the animal squeezed to weaken it out.¹ Certain physical processes are applied on the serpent evidently for the purpose of wearing out its resistance which is then put into an osier-basket (*vallīhi peḷam karitvā*).

The snake-charmer earns 1,000 *kaḥāpaṇas* by performance in a frontier village and sets out on his trade with a loaded cart and a pleasure-car (Jāt. IV. 456 ff). In the Bhuridatta Jātaka where a similar process of snake-catching

¹ Technical languages are used in this connexion which are difficult to decipher. *Pattakaveṭhanan nāma veṭhesi, tantamajjitan nāma majji, nangutṭhe gahetvā dussapathiman nāma poṭhesi*. Cowell renders 'cloth-wrap', 'rope-rubbing', 'cotton blow.'

is described and where also the snake is a Bodhisatta, the charmer by showing snake-dance in a single village makes a sum of 100,000 *kahāpanas* ; people see with gold coin, gold, garments, ornaments and the like (VI. 185f). He comes to play his snake before the king "just bathed and anointed, and wearing a tunic of fine cloth, and making his attendant carry his jewelled basket" which is placed on a dappled rug (191).

The princely returns which only the feats of a Bodhisatta snake can account for and the position of an artisan performing before royal audience are not the real index of the standard of living of the class. Snake-charming is one of the despicable callings taken up by degenerate Brāhmaṇas (Dn. I. i. 19 ff). The *āhiṇḍika* is among the mixed castes born of a *niṣāda* father and a *vaideha* mother (Manu, X. 37).

8. The Snake-doctor

Closely allied to the snake-charmer's was the profession of the snake-doctor for the two are sometimes seen combined in the same person (Jāt. VI. 181). Venom-specialists who can cure snake-bite are a common reference in the Jātakas (III. 496; VI. 585). The means for extracting poison were simples and charms (*osadehi ca*, *mantehi ca*) with which Bodhisatta, born in a family of snake-doctors (*visavejjakule*) used to practise (I. 310f; V. 202). The very nature of the profession shows that it was not a lucrative one and the common standard is reflected in the doctor without practice in the village (*dubbalovejjo gāme kiñci kammaṃ alabbhivā*) who plays a trick on some boys to have them snake-bitten and then to cure them for a fee (III. 202). The infallibility of *mantas* was moreover doubtful. The *mantas* of the venom-specialist Brāhmaṇas prevented the snake Takṣaka from having direct access to king Parikṣit, but the success of his ruse is a sad commentary on their efficacy (Mbh. I. 42). And when Arrian quotes Nearchos that Indians can

cure snake-bites where Greek physicians fail (15), it is not impossible that his authority was merely echoing the Indians' vaunting.

9. *The Physician*

The medical profession ranged from wide pharmacological knowledge to quackery and sorcery. Megasthenes observes both the sides of the picture. He speaks of physicians whose most esteemed remedies were ointments and plasters and who "effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines." At the same time he notices "diviners and sorcerers.....who go about begging both in villages and towns" (Str. XV. i. 60).

The renowned Ayurvedic school at Taxila is a tribute to the development of medical knowledge. Jīvaka, the celebrated house-physician to the Magadhan king Bimbisāra, received his education there (Mv. VIII. 6). The ancient teachers of medicology (tikicchakānaṃ pubbakā ācariyā) are thus named : Nārada, Dhammantari (physician of the gods—specialist in snake-bite), Aṅgīrasa (versed in the charm of Atharvaveda against disease), Kapila, Kaṇḍaraggisāma, Atula and Pubba Kaccāyana (Mil., p. 272). The parable of an expert physician and surgeon (kusalo bhisakko sallakatto) who operates upon and treats a septic wound caused by weapon (Mil., pp. 110 ff ; Mv. VI. 1 ff) or a boil (Mil., pp. 149, 353) or who can cure a leper in advanced stage or "give the blind man his eyes" (Mn. 75) exhibits an advanced knowledge of pharmacopœia. But as in all ancient culture groups, medical lore was vitiated with demonology and exorcism (bhūtavijjā, Dn. I. i. 21 ; bhūtavejjaṃ, Jāt. III. 511). In the introductory story of a Jātaka tale, even in the portion which is supposed to be later composition, a boy is advised to escape from a disease-infected house by digging a hole in the wall as the spirit of disease was supposed to guard the gate but not other parts of the house

(II. 79). Belief in spirits was not the only limitation to the science. The Vijayasutta of the Suttanipāta exhibits some elementary knowledge of anatomy and ends by denouncing love for an impure thing like the human body (*cf.* An. V 110). Here is perhaps a psychological factor which conduced to the relegation of pathology and surgery to the plebeian sciences.

The art of healing was stigmatised (Mbh. V. 38. 4; XIII. 135. 14). Not only is a Brāhmaṇa prohibited from dealing in medicinal herbs (Manu, X. 86-89; Gaut. VII. 9 ff; Āpas. I. 20. 12), he is not to take the food offered by the physician (Manu, IV. 211 ff; Āpas. I. 6. 19. 15; Mbh. XII. 37. 29 ff). Indra opposes the offering of Soma juice to the twin Aświns, for their profession had degraded them to the position of servants (Mbh. III. 124. 12). Manu assigns medical practice to the mixed caste of Ambaṣṭhas (X. 47).

But however stigmatised, for a good practitioner it was not a poor profession, because people do spend for the impure filth of their body. By curing a patient Jīvaka gets 16,000 *kahāpaṇas* and a servant and a maid-servant (Mv. VIII. 13). For curing the chief *setṭhi* of Rājagaha, he charges a fee of 100,000 (*ib.* 20). Nor was his status a degraded one. Suśeṇa the state-physician of the *vānaras* of Kiṣkindhyā (Rām. VI. 101. 43) enjoyed presumably a quite respectable status. There appears to be an air of unreality in the unqualified damnation of the medical practice in the literature of the western districts; in the Gangetic provinces at least, the profession as such probably did not suffer under any stigma. The position of the practitioner depended on his practice as now and ever.

Miscellaneous

The list given above is not exhaustive. In the Sānti-parva appearance in theatres (*raṅgāvatarāṇa*), disguising one-

self in divers forms (rūpopajīvanam), sale of liquor and meat (madyamāmsopajīvyāñca) are among censured professions (295. 5f). A washerman, one who lives on the income of dancing girls (raṅgastrījīvinām), professional panegyrists and gamblers (vandidyūtavidām) and singers and jesters (hāsaka) are among those whose food is forbidden to a Brāhmaṇa (37. 29ff). A Brāhmaṇa is prohibited from selling salt, cooked food, curds, milk, honey, oil, clarified butter, sesame, meat, fruit, roots, pot-herbs, dyed cloths, perfumery and treacle (Mbh. V. 38. 5). To live by purveying lac, honey,¹ meat,¹ and poison is a curse (Rām. II. 75. 38). The Smṛtis also give butchers, meat-sellers, killers and trappers of divers animals, trainers of animals, makers of, and dealers in weapons, smiths, carpenters, weavers, dyers, oil-pressers, ploughmen, artisans, mechanics, architects, superintendents of workers in mines and factories, engineers, washermen, quacks, tailors, shopkeepers, publicans, police-officers, mace-bearers, astrologers, soothsayers, weather prophets, etc., (Manu III. 150.63 ; IV. 84, 210-20 ; VIII. 65 f ; XI. 64 ; XII. 45 f ; Āpas. I. 6. 14 ; Gaut. XVII. 17 ; Vāś. III. 3, XIV. 2 f ; Baudh. I. 5. 10. 24, II. 1. 2. 13 ; Nār. I. 178, 181, 183-85 ; Vr. XXII. 3 ; Viṣ. XXXVII. 22 f, 32, LI. 8, 10, 13-15 ; LXXXII. 7, 9). The stigma to some of these was only relative to the so-called religious caste while to others, *i.e.*, where the subject is disqualified as witness, it pointed to an absolute standard by which the economic functions of society would be regulated.

The professions assigned in the law books to the so-called mixed castes were *ipse jure* infamous. Guardianship of the harem is the appropriate function of the Vaidehaka (Com. Manu, X. 47 ; Mbh. XIII. 48. 10)², management of horses and chariots (Manu, X. 47 ; Viṣ. XVI. 13), or

¹ Trade in honey and meat is censured also in Manu, III. 151 and in Jāt. IV. 361.

² According to Viṣṇu "keeping (dancing girls and other public) women and profiting by what they earn" (XVI. 12).

singing encomiums (Mbh. XIII. 48. 10) of the Sūta. The Āyogava is a carpenter (*ib.* 13) or net-maker (*ib.* 20). The Maireyaka manufactures wine and spirits (*ib.* 20).

Evidently no rigid and uniform classification prevailed. The Vinaya passage quoted at the beginning of the chapter indicates that besides the damned five there were other pursuits despised in other countries. Standards varied in countries and among communities. Jealousies and predilections played their part in mutual estimation of races. What was honourable at some place might be dishonourable at another. The whole of half-Aryanised Magadha was low in the eyes of the dwellers in the land of Manu, of the high-browed and sneakish *udicca-brāhmaṇa* keenly sensitive of his pedigree. The Sākyas and the Koliyas regarded each other as barbarous people pursuing customs opposed to their own sense of decency (Jāt. V. 412). There was, further, a host of artisan classes who filled a wide range of middle position in economic condition and social esteem,—always however gravitating towards the bottom,—the smith, the carpenter, the garland-maker, the musician, the actor, the panegyrist, the buffoon, the drummer, the butcher, the brewer, the brothel-keeper and so on.

Vagrancy

Below the great estates of wealth and honour, outside the labouring classes, the despised castes and the despised callings,—the vagrant or the professional beggar completes the social picture. There was no flooded mass of starving unemployed; and to many, beggary was a profitable business. Alms-giving being an acid test of piety, kings and merchants erected big charity-halls in the city wherefrom alms were distributed to thousands of people every day (Jāt. III. 129, 300, 414; IV. 15, 63, 176, 402; V. 383; VI. 97; Dn. XVII. i. 23). Professional beggars multiplied fruitfully under the shelter of indiscriminate charity and we hear

of beggar families (duggatakula, Jāt. I. 238) as much as of an acrobat family or a wage-earning family. But the real problem of poverty was not solved, as it never can be, by private altruism. There were people with whom begging was the last trench in the battle for existence. With the disruption of the primitive agricultural and pastoral economy, with the growth of cities and aggravation of famines, in days when men sold their freedom for food, there were many who remained outside the reach of the benevolent and wealthy. The Jātaka verse refers to "those who begged for need"¹ (VI. 502)¹ and it is not an unexpected fate for a disinherited Brāhmaṇa boy, reduced to destitution and beggary, to die helpless on the street (V. 468; cf. Therīg. 122 ff).

¹ The commentary goes : vanibbākaṇesū kañci ekam pi yācākam mā vihiṭṭha-yittha.

CHAPTER V

CLASS BASIS OF SOCIAL ECONOMY

The real India. Subjective character of canonical and court literature. Material for peoples' history. Comparative objectivity of popular literature.

Popular religion. Aboriginal fetishism. Aryan elemental gods. Symbolical gods. Growth of sects and rituals. Priesthood. Rise to wealth and power. Official and private bounties. Corruption. Regular and secular clergy.

Kings and military lords. Merchants. Economic background of Buddhist heresy.

Slaves and wage-earners. Economic determinism in social gradation. The pariah—his position *vis-a-vis* the Saṃgha. Social contrast.

*Class compromise. Immaturity of class consciousness. Lower middle class the centre of gravity. Exploited elements a composite body. Ignorance and subjection of the Śūdra.

As the broad economic motives behind social and cultural growth are unfolded before our eyes, we bid India of reality. fare to the India of magic and romance, the India resounding with Vedic hymns, Buddhist sermons and Epic saga. The miracles wrought by the prophet, the carnivorous and the graminivorous living in fraternal embrace, the king forsaking *rāṣṭravijaya* for *dhammavijaya*, the *setṭhi* spurning his hoard like chaff and taking to *pabbajjā*,—all melt in the horizon and we feel the hard ground of conflicts and struggles under our feet. We explore the economic content of India's great spiritual culture—production and distribution of wealth, formation of classes thereon with interests essentially hostile beneath the external harmony of a priestly social philosophy.

To ascertain whether *artha* or *paramārtha* was the motive power of the cultural apparatus, it is necessary, first of all, to examine the nature of India's historical material. India produced no Thucydides or Tacitus. It yielded a plentiful

Subjectivity of canonical and court literature.

crop of canonists and theoreticians to prescribe the divine law and write sacred texts. They formulated their social doctrines in tune with the Brāhmaṇist scheme of society. Their sacred institutes and canonical literature represent only the Brāhmaṇist scheme of society and not society itself. It has been long proved by Western scholars like Senart,¹ Fick and others that Indian society was never founded on the fourfold functional caste—the *varṇāśrama*—as punctiliously laid down in the Smṛti and didactic literature. Brāhmaṇas are frequently seen to drive the plough, feeding themselves on pork, fowl and beef, living on usury or fighting even better than the so-called Kṣatriyas. The householder, instead of repairing to the forest at the age of fifty, is more often seen to cultivate the two middle *vargas*, — *artha* and *kāma*. A society which observes the priestly injunction that women are gates of hell cannot produce women like Ubhayabhārati and Maitreyī. The king who is sobriqueted Ṣaḍbhāgin—as the taker of only 1/6 of agricultural produce as taxes—is frequently seen ruining the cultivators with fleecing demands and no less is the same king who is extolled as a veritable god on earth seen to die or leave his kingdom before the fury of his oppressed folk.

These social pictures are not found in the Brāhmaṇical sacred books. In fact India's history is not to be traced in these canonical works nor in the panegyrics of *praśastikāras* maintained by kings to blow their trumpet. Even foreign visitors like Megasthenes, Fabien and Yuan Chwang wrote under the influence of these religious motives or of king's court. The pulsating life of the endless mass of humanity that extended between the king's palace and the ascetic's *āśrama* is not felt in court or divine literature. The material for peoples' life is to be sought in peoples' literature. Fortu-

Sources for peoples' history.

¹ *Les Castes dans l'Inde.*

nately such popular literature is not so wanting for us as genealogical and chronological tables and diplomatic and military records. Of course even this literature could not completely escape the tamperings of compilers with idealistic motives.

The remarkable difference between the canonical literature of Brāhmaṇas and that of Buddhists is that the former's vehicle was a savant's language, the latter's vehicle was a more widely spoken language. Buddhist philosophy and practice exhibit some advance from Brāhmaṇism towards equality and democracy in their monastic organisation and theories of state. This explains why the Pali works give insight into popular life more than the Sanskrit. The social life of commoners in the countryside with their sorrows and pleasures, their feuds and fellowships expresses itself in colourful stories,—in rhymes and verses. These unmotivated, spontaneous effusions reflect clearly the beliefs, manners, customs and means of livelihood of the masses. The stories of the Jātakas are such folk-tales accumulated through centuries, in the lips of the commoner. They are presented by the compiler in a casual, parenthetical manner only with the interpolation of the Boddhisatta motive. Sometimes this motive does not colour the incidents which have absolutely no bearing on the moral. The current of popular literature sometimes fade and dry, showed itself again in works like the Pañcatantra, Hitopadeśa, Kathāsaritsāgara, etc. Even the Purāṇas and the great Epics sometimes afford glimpses into real human life beneath the crust of poetic artistry and idealisation.

With this literature as our sources we have to appraise the place of religion and the form of religion in the life of the masses. Every religious faith may be divided into two compartments—one

Comparative objectivity of popular literature.

is theology, the other rituals. Theology and philosophy is the concern of saints and logicians ; the rites and rituals are the peoples' affair. As in any other country, in India also it is seen that in the early stages of corporate life, man, instead of bravely facing the ordeals of nature, lost his nerves before the unknown ;

Non-Aryan.

from ignorance came fear, from fear propitiation and deification of the unknowable. Whatever was beyond the ken of knowledge and control became mystic and divine, a ready answer to all queries was available in animism. The only escape from danger was fetish-worship. In stones, in animals, in trees, everywhere the aboriginal Indian tribes scented the existence of gods, demons and fairies ready to pounce upon the unwary.¹ Between these animal and totem divinities of the aboriginal non-Aryan tribes and elemental and astral divinities of the Aryans, there is not much difference. Indra, Agni, Pavana and Varuna are symbols of elemental forces beyond human control.

Aryan.

The cultivator who had no mechanical devices to cope against the vagaries of the monsoons, fell to propitiating the god of the rains. Unable to grapple with the furies of fire man worshipped Rudra, to stop the onslaught of storms and floods the air-god and the water-god had to be appeased. The professional priest now stepped in to bank upon the superstitious veneration and fear of the people. Between the scared man and the remorseless god, he intervened with the much-needed charms and simples, magics and amulets. Gradually the original elemental gods,—the brood of savage ignorance and folly were nursed into the brains of the intellectual to grow into full-fledged supernatural gods, each symbolising a particular virtue. Rudra, the fire-god became Siva, haunting the crematorium—the ideal of sacrifice and renunciation. The rain-god became

¹ Ample traces of these are available in the Jātakas and in South Indian literature and inscriptions.

the king of gods—conqueror of demons, the symbol of order and righteous government. Kālī represented power, Viṣṇu love and preservation of life, the custodian of *élan vital*.

Sectarianism and ritualism. These gods with their respective virtues became the stock-in-trade of different religious sects. The hostility among the Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava and Saura were sedulously perpetuated by the man-god who stood between man and god. Rooted in the vested interests of the intermediary, popular religion spread new offshoots. A paraphernalia of rituals and ceremonies, distinctive marks of different sects,—hostility between the faithful and the unbeliever were the crop of this new development.¹ Thus popular rituals which at the beginning of economic struggle was confined to an instinctive devotion begotten of fear, ripened in the course of the rise of a new economic class into multifarious rites and practices, divisions and conflicts.

Of course the works of savants contained the gospel of unity within many, of concord of the divers, of godhead above the gods. But the riddles of theology or speculative knowledge are not our concern. We are concerned only with peoples' rites and peoples' religions which are the direct products of the struggle for existence,—not with that mystic core of religion which is reserved for the wise and the learned.

The Priesthood. It is also admitted that there were sages who cast aside wealth and fortunes and spent their life to unravel the mysteries of the universe. In ancient Egypt and Babylon and in Mediæval Europe we see the wealth of the nation accumulated in temples and churches and monasteries, that taking advantage of this wealth and human failings, the priest captured the supreme

¹ Inscriptions down from the time of the Guptas and observations of the Chinese pilgrims show the multiplicity of sects and rituals which divided both the Buddhist and Brahmanical communities.

power of the state and to defend this 'divine' property against unbelieving and heretical interlopers, revelled in all sorts of intrigues, bloodshed and treason. It is true that the Indian picture is not blackened with such deplorable savagery practised in the name of religion. But even in this sacred cradle of spiritual culture, the worldly and secular priests far out-numbered the renouncing anchorite,—the *dhammadhvaja*, *kuṭajaṭila* and *kuhakatāpaśa* grew like mushrooms all around (Jāt. I. 375; II. 406, 447, III. 137, 310, 541; Mbh. XII. 120.8, 158. 18f; Arth. I. 11).

The treasury and garner of the monk swelled with the produce of the *brahmadeya* and *devatra* and such like property assigned to him free of taxes. Everywhere Brāhmaṇas are seen enjoying tax-free land to the extent of thousands of *karīṣas*, producing food-crops by means of the ox and the plough and gangs of slaves and serfs and living with the power and splendour of kings.¹ Or sometimes the revenues of whole lots of villages are assigned to the Brāhmaṇas by royal charter, the burden of replenishing these gaps in the royal treasury falls on the rest of the people. For this investment of public money what returns society receives from the average Brāhmaṇa? At most a few couplets of royal eulogy (Jāt. V. 23, 484), the solution of a dream and interpretation of omens (Jāt. I. 272) or performance of costly sacrifices for the propitiation of the gods. To the credulous he sold the privilege of rendering homage to the person of a woman who was believed to have borne a child to Brahmā (Jāt. IV. 378). Wealth and social prestige gave him further powers in state and society. The priest became the chief adviser to the king in matters temporal and spiritual (*aṭṭhadhammānūsā-saka*, Jāt. II. 105, 125, 173, 175, 203, 264; III. 21, 115, 206, 317, 337, 400, etc). Sometimes he made his office

¹ Dn. III. i. 1; IV. i. 1; XII. i. 1; XXIII. 1. Mn. 95.

hereditary (Jāt. I. 437). As the sole exponent of canon law he sat in the hall of judgment and extended his power to the wider regions of civil law—of *vyavahāra* and *vinicchaya* and not infrequently traded with his judicial decisions (lañcakhādako, kuṭavinicchayiko, Jāt. V. 1, 228; VI. 131). Sometimes he flattered the conquering zeal of the king so that in the whole of India “he will become the sole king and I the sole housepriest” (ekapurohita, Jāt. III. 159). All the while the recipient of *bhogagāmas* and *brahmadeyas* increasingly invested his wealth in commercial ventures or following the fourfold Vaiśya pursuits of agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade and usury grew into a multi-millionaire (asitikoṭivibhavo) capitalist interest and basked in the sun-shine of the court. His daily pension from the king amounted to 100, 500 or 1,000 *kahāpaṇas* (Mn. II. 163; Sn. I. 82; Dhṛp. 204 Com.) He is seen in the role of great magnates sending 500 wagons from East to West (Jāt. IV. 7; V. 471). He is seen to multiply his wealth sailing with cargo and slaves and servants to the Far Eastern Islands (Jāt. IV. 15; cf. VI. 208). He is seen to function as king’s treasurer (Jāt. I. 439; E.I. IX. 33. iii). As the cult of Mammon grew among the traders in religion, megalomaniac bounties became a fashion with their royal patrons and proteges.

The gifts of *brahmadeya* imposed by priesthood on temporal authority by cajoles and threats
Private and official bounty. conducted to a rapid concentration of land in the hand of secular Brāhmaṇas¹ who are so prominent by their landed wealth in folk literature, although in didactic pieces cultivation of land is assigned exclusively to Vaiśyas. Private munificence vied with the royal. An early Brāhmī inscription in Mathura records a perpetual endowment by a lord out of the monthly interest whereof 100 Brāhmaṇas should be served daily (E.I. XXI. 10). From a single day’s

¹ See *supra*, pp. 34f.

itinerary, a Brāhmaṇa begs sufficient money to buy slaves male and female (Jāt. III. 343).

Nor was the Buddhist *saṃgha* immune from the corrup-
 Corruption and abuse. ting influences of gold. The Karle and
 Nasik Cave inscriptions show how the
 extravagant bounties of Śaka princes flowed indiscriminately
 into permanent endowments to Brāhmaṇas and to the
saṃgha. Kuṣāṇa inscriptions from Mathura tell the same
 story (E. I. XXI. 10). The Buddhist monasteries are so
 often found overflowing with gain and honour (lābhasakkāra)
 'like five rivers' (Jāt. I. 449; II. 415; III. 126; Dh's Com.
 on Therīg. 92 ff), which undermine their ascetic purity
 (Mn. 76, 79). They maintained slaves and servants who
 begged alms on their behalf (Jāt. III. 49) or served as
 gardener or went on shopping errands.¹ Female slaves and
 dancing girls are seen in the Brāhmaṇical (E. I. XIII. 7A)
 and Jaina temples to serve or perform for gods and their
 mortal agencies. The superintendent of female temple-
 slaves enters into the list of temple officials (E. I. XIII. 7A).
 They "are frequently represented on the Buddhist monu-
 ments as exhibiting their art at festivals."² Instances are
 not rare of sages falling from virtue as a result of surfeit
 from lay people (Jāt. V. 162), nor of people entering into
 the cloisters for comfort and lucre (I. 311, 340). Parents
 would choose for their boy the monastic life as the most
 comfortable means of a livelihood (Mv. I. 49). In the
 words of Mahāmoggallāna himself there was a vast number
 of deceitful tricksters (saṭhā māyāvino) who took to *pabbajita*
 not for belief but for livelihood (asaddhā jīvikatthā; Mn. 5).
 The whole set of disciplinary rules laid down by Buddha
 throughout the Vinaya-piṭaka reveals in fact a desperate
 effort to resist the rush of self-seekers and criminals in the

¹ Mrs. Rhys. Davids. J. R. A. S., 1901. p. 863.

² Bühler : *Epigraphia Indica*, II. 24.

saṃgha and to stamp out corruption and luxury which public liberality constantly impinged upon it.

Inscriptions in Karle and Nasik Caves, those from the time of Kanīṣka and Huviṣka (E. I., VIII. 17 f) and those in the Sanchi Topes are a sad commentary on the monastic vow of poverty. Out of the 285 votive inscriptions from Sanchi as many as 54 monks and 37 nuns appear as donors. "They must have obtained by begging the money required for making the rails and pillars. This was no doubt permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings of the Jaina ascetics who according to the Mathura and other inscriptions, as a rule, were content to exhort the laymen to make donations and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions."¹

The argument may be put forth that the *brahmadeya* and immunity from revenue accrued not to all Brāhmaṇas but only to *śrotriya*s or those who studied the Vedas and performed sacrifices thereby performing some social duty. The *Śāntiparva* indeed carefully demarcates pious Brāhmaṇas who are to be exempted, from secular Brāhmaṇas who are to be fleeced with taxes and forced labour. But is there any recognised hallmark of piety? The Brāhmaṇical works themselves show the priests haggling and bargaining for their fee (Śp. 29. 124f; cf. Arth. III. 14; Jāt. I. 343; III. 45). They were organised exactly on the lines of industrial guilds and laws are laid down for the division of their earnings (Manu, VIII. 210, 206; Nār. III. 8). The Pali literature, especially the *Jātakas*, show that the recipients of *brahmadeya* gifts of land as those of *lābhasakkāra* in the Buddhist Order were not devoted spiritualists. Even if it be accepted that wealth and privileges poured upon bona fide religious persons and

Brāhmaṇas, regular
and secular.

¹ Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica*, II. 7.

orders, history has abundant proof that such a constant out-flow corrupts even the purest recipient and works his ruin. At any rate, the state became the poorer and had to lay its fingers in the pockets of the toiler.

The pseudo-religious caste had not the monopoly of power and privileges. The other estates were aligned with them on identity of interests, known in the Dharmaśāstras as the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya. Although proofs are lacking of the existence of a group of hereditary military castes under the general name of Kṣatriya, still there is little doubt that there was a class of nobles who cultivated the arts of politics and war and occupied certain high posts of government. With the expansion of the king's family his kinsmen were absorbed in this class as generals, feudatory lords, governors and bureaucrats. Or, in the case of oligarchical tribes like the Śākya, the Koliyas, the Vṛjji, the Mallas and later on the Rajput clans, the so-called Kṣatriya caste divided the tribal land among themselves. With land they monopolised political power. Their much-belauded republican government was confined to the *rājakulas*;—the *sāmantas*, *uparājas*, *amātyas* and other underlings enjoyed that much of wealth and power which their masters condescended to spare for them, and the slaves and hirelings who formed the majority in the state cultivated lands, gave their life in battles to defend their master's interests and obtained food and clothing or wages up to or more often below their living.¹

Side by side with this class rose the class of merchants; proprietorship of vast landed estates went under the grip of capital. The *śreṣṭhīs* did not stop with sending fleets loaded with cargo to Java, Sumatra and the Eastern Archipelago; they also cultivated

Military lords.

Mercantile magnates.

¹ See *supra*, p. 23.

vast stretches of arable land by means of gangs of slaves and hirelings and thereby attained to the topmost rung of the economic ladder, familiar as *asitikoṭivibhavo*. Like the *gāmabhojaka* and the Brāhmaṇa magnates, the *setṭhi* accumulated huge quantities of grain which he cornered in times of scarcity and which thus gave him a sinister influence in society. He represents "a crosscut through the ancient system of castes, a plutocracy perpetuating itself as an aristocracy."¹ The *setṭhi* and the industrial *gaṇa* were powerful economic interests which had large influence in the policy of the state and which no king dared to defy. From this community was filled up the high post of financial adviser (*setṭhitthāna*) which presumably determined the economic policy and functions of the state and which often tended to be hereditary (Jāt. I. 231, 248; III. 475; IV. 62; V. 384). As owner of eighty crores he is found highly esteemed by king and by citizens and country-folk alike (*rājapūjito nagarajanapadapūjito*). As Fick says, the *setṭhi*, by virtue of his immense wealth, became indispensable to the king, as we find him constantly in his retinue.²

As in Europe of the 18th century it is seen that the economic content of democratic movements was the struggle of the rising bourgeoisie to seize power from the grip of the firmly entrenched clergy and nobles, so the ideal of Buddhist republicanism was the replacement of the Brāhmaṇa priesthood by the *setṭhis* and *gaṇapatis* and their royal allies. Against the Brāhmaṇical pretension to supremacy explicit in the fourfold caste order and asserted in many legends like that of Viśwāmitra, the Kṣatriya aspirant to Brāhmaṇism and that of Paraśurāma, the destroyer of Kṣatriyas twenty-one times all over India, the Buddhist works give precedence

Economic background
of Buddhism.

¹ Washburn Hopkins, *India Old and New*, p. 172.

² *Op. cit.* p. 168.

to Khattiyas over the Brāhmaṇa, Gahapati and Sudda and very often bursts into vigorous denunciation of the Brāhmaṇas with their sacrificial rites and sordid motives of gain. "The Khattiyas are superior, the Brāhmaṇas are inferior," so says Gotama (Ambaṭṭhasutta, Dn., cf. Jacobi : Jainasutras, pp. 225f). "The superior position of the Khattiyas in the Eastern countries and the corresponding decline of Brahmanical influence present themselves to us with irresistible necessity when we study the Pali Literature."¹ "The prevalence of merchants and traders (in the Sanchi Ins.) seems to indicate, what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists, that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism."² The *setṭhi* and *gahapati* were the principal tax-paying class³ and so had their axes to grind against the Brāhmaṇa exemptees swelling with wealth. The economic background of Buddhist heresy is the combination and revolt of the two powerful class interests—the military and the mercantile—against the old monopoly interests of Brāhmaṇa priesthood.

The mercantile interest served the *saṃgha* as lay *upāsakas*, built them *caityas* and *stūpas*, fed them with choice delicacies and rose to power and position. The long feud with Brāhmaṇism at last terminated into a compromise. The *setṭhi* and *gahapati* had their position acknowledged and with their purpose served, they let down the Buddhist and shifted their bounties and allegiance to the Brāhmaṇa. Inscriptions from the time of the Guptas record this change.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56 and the following pages for references. For the history of the struggle for supremacy between the two classes, R. C. Majumdar : *Corporate Life*, pp. 366-72. Also *infra*, p. 508.

² Bühler, *loc. cit.*

³ Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 79. For the 'marked leaning to aristocracy in ancient Buddhism' see Oldenberg : *Buddha*, pp. 155ff.



Thus the upper classes appropriated national wealth and political power. The slave and the hireling who with their toil built the edifice of civilisation and prosperity remained the deprived and despised underdogs of society. They were employed in gangs for the service of the rich. The slave was like his master's cattle. He had no juristic personality nor property. The male slave is seen to work on hire to feed his master, the female slave is seen to warm his bed. If sometimes they were treated well, it was in the same way as the owner cared for his cattle from his own interest or from prolonged association. The servant working for a wage or for share of profit had not the same luck. In most cases he was denied a living wage and a square meal. This landless proletariat remained at the lowest rung of the economic ladder. The lawgivers and politicians did not spare them the barest amenities of life.

Economic determinism in social hierarchy.

The three aristocratic classes into whose hands concentrated national wealth form the *dwija* group—the impoverished *dāsa* class form the *Sūdra* group.¹ Of the so-called *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* many were impoverished by the shufflings of fate and relegated to the plebeian class. *Brāhmaṇas* and *gahapatis* fallen from fortune appear as poorest farmers, artisans and hunters. In literature, sacred and profane, they appear with despised callings of quacks, king's orderlies, wood-cutters, petty traders and craftsmen and in every conceivable role. Scions of royal race defeated in battle or dice or victims of court or palace intrigue are seen to be reduced to begging or to slavery. The commercial magnate whose caravan was plundered by brigands or whose cargo was sunk in the ocean had to live by serving others. *Mahākaccana* illustrates the equality of castes by

¹ Mark the indiscriminate use of *dāsajāti*, *sūdrajāti* and *dāsavarṇa*, *sūdravarṇa*.

pointing out the uncontroverted fact that any one of the four castes, if he can become rich, may employ another of even superior caste to serve him as slave (Mn. 84; Śuk. III. 369-75). Against Senaka's contention that "wise men and fools, men educated or uneducated, do service to the wealthy, although they be high-born and he be base-born," Bodhisatta has to take his stand on the next world to prove the superiority of a poor sage over a wealthy fool (Jāt. VI. 356ff). The cant confession is made in the Mahābhārata that wealth confers family dignity while poverty takes it away (III. 192. 21). Social precedence was thus determined not by birth but by wealth. Thus the priestly caste theory which was sought to be foisted on society broke down under the inexorable pressure of material circumstances and gave place to hostile classes belonging to different economic categories.

Aligned with slaves and hirelings was another class,—
 the low castes and low crafts who under
 The Mleccha. the general brand of *mleccha* were degraded even below the Śūdra. The pariahs pursued arts and trades which the society could not dispense with but which repelled the sophisticated sense of refinement and culture. The Pali works testify that they lived outside the village gate and city gate, *i.e.*, in isolation from civilised society. The habitat assigned them by the lawgivers was the hill and forest or the cremation ground. Tree is to be their shed, iron their ornament and pariah arts their profession (Manu, X. 50; Mbh. XIII. 48. 32). They exposed themselves to any length of corporal punishment if they defiled with their filthy presence the air and water in the vicinity of their superiors. They were denied the great honour and privilege enjoyed by the slaves and serfs, that of serving their masters.

It is true that the door of the *saṃgha* was open to all these people excepting the slaves. But they are very seldom

seen as members of the Order ; firstly, because the homeless condition was often a reaction from surfeit of wealth and power which these people were totally denied ; secondly, because the poverty and degradation which was their habitual lot did not foster that high enlightenment and spiritual consciousness which actuate monastic zeal. " Judging from their isolated and low position which excludes them from all communion with the Aryan people and as a consequence of this, from all participation in spiritual life the actual existence of such holy men is extremely doubtful." ¹ They were at least rare.

Spiritual culture for the *mleccha*.

• The pronounced social contrast between the two classes is expressed through the familiar Pali phrases ' mahābhogakula ' and ' daḷiddakula, ' ' sadhanā, ' and ' adhanā, ' ' sugatā, ' and ' duggatā, ' through the lamentations of Gālava (V. 106. 11) and of Yudhiṣṭhira (V. 71. 25f) in the Mahābhārata that one destitute of wealth is a wretch, that there is no virtue for the poor, that wealth is an essential contributory factor to the cultivation of virtue. In the Pali passage quoted at the beginning of this Book, ignorance, low birth, poverty, vice and purgatory form an unbroken chain, while wisdom, pedigree, wealth, virtue and heaven constitute a set of counterparts going together. This is not an isolated passage and recurs almost *verbatim* throughout the canons (Mn. 93, 96 ; An. II. 85 ; Sn. I. 93 ; Pug. IV. 19). Virtue thus tended to be a monopolistic concern of the upper orders with ample leisure and ample wealth ; and in the preservation of this leisure and wealth they ultimately made a caricature

Social contrast.

¹ Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 51. 10 among the 259 authors included in the anthology of Theragāthā and 4 out of the 73 in the Therīgāthā come from the ranks of the poor and despised : actor, pariah, fisherman, labourer, slave, trapper. ' poor family, ' etc., i.e., about 4·2 p.c. The bulk come from Brāhmaṇas and aristocrats and a few from among the artisans (Paramatthadīpani).

of virtue which poisoned the social organism and led to metamorphosis and decay.

These are not to deny that this social inequality was not as glaring in India as in other ancient cultures. Class differences did not assume those horrible and destructive proportions in India as they did in ancient Rome, Greece and Egypt and later in France and Russia. That implacable hatred between the Patrician and the Plebeian, the perennial and seething disaffection of the helots always ready to burst and explode the Spartan state and the enslavement of the whole people below the Pharaoh with his priesthoods and entourage in the land of the Pyramids,—these scenes are not witnessed in India. It is an interesting subject for investigation why class conflict and class consciousness did not mature in this country.¹

The chief reason is that the zemindary system could not develop in ancient India. The freeholder was real master of his arable and homestead land. The small farmer defrayed his expenses cultivating his own land; in the eyes of law he was equal with the great landowner—the *asitikotivibhavo kutumbiko* who employed slaves and serfs to cultivate his fields. Generally he had no fear of losing his property except in cases of famine or a natural calamity. Ordinarily he remained in hereditary enjoyment of his patrimony unless he pitted himself against the powerful and defaulted in the payment of revenues. The *gāmahojaka* was not a zemindar to whom land was farmed; he enjoyed the revenues of and ruling powers in his *bhogagāma* but not ownership and usufruct.² The independent small freeholders and craftsmen

Circumstances
favouring class com-
promise: 1. The
lower middle class.

¹ Class struggles were rare but not altogether absent though evidences are lacking. The Kaivarta revolt in the reign of Mahipala in Bengal is a positive instance.

² See *supra*, Bk. I, Ch. III.

may be termed the petty bourgeoisie of ancient India who from the last few centuries are being gradually declassed and levelled with the proletarian mass. This middle class formed the majority distributed over a wide range and this class of lower Vaiśyas held the balance between the Śūdra and Dwija classes. Society was a complex hierarchy and because the centre was heavy, poise was maintained.

The second point to note is that the exploited elements in India were never welded into a homogeneous mass with the consciousness of a common class interest. It is seen even now that the

2. Exploited class,
a composite body.

Śavara discards the Caṇḍāla as an untouchable as much as he is himself hated as a low caste by the Brāhmaṇa. The exponents of divine will have created and perpetuated this division among the *hīnavarṇas* with masterly skill. The slaves and hired folk too could not combine with the pariahs,—they could not even develop a communal consciousness among themselves. The reason for this is that they were not numerically strong like the slaves in Rome and Egypt and they lived scattered and distributed in different localities. We have no *dāsagāma* or *bhatikagāma* as we hear of *caṇḍālagāma* or *nesādagāma*. The latter lived in villages of their own. The slaves and wage-earners lived with their masters or were scattered in their several sheds. The slaves were not always treated inhumanly and felt the family ties of their masters; so discontent did not spread sufficiently deep for violent action. The wage-earners had no means to organise, no facilities to build guilds and unions like *śreṇī*, *saṃgha*, *pūga*, etc., as the skilled artisans used to do to safeguard their interests. They had no fixity of dwelling and fixity of terms nor any security of service. Standing between vagrancy and starvation, eking out a miserable existence by any chance engagement, this mass of unskilled labour was thrown entirely at the mercy of the employer.

The third reason is that the lower classes were not given access to the secrets of knowledge which gives confidence and voice of protest to the inarticulate. For a Śūdra it is sacrilege to profane the śāstras with his inquisitiveness. From the earliest traceable times, these people were kept in dire ignorance. The holy *mantra* was constantly dinned in their ears that their only path to salvation was through service of the higher *varṇas*. Whoever had the temerity to question this authoritarian system or to strike at the closed doors of knowledge had no escape from the inquisitorial vigilance of the Brāhmaṇa and the retribution which it brought. The legend of Śambuka, a Śūdra *hīnavarṇa* who dared to perform Brāhmaṇical rites and who for this inexpiable offence forfeited heavenly bliss though killed in Rāma's hands is only a case in point. The Śūdra and Mleccha were never allowed to think and feel their position on earth.

Thus it is that the multi-caste society, compartmentally divided, integrated the parts. The mechanism of class collaboration was a slowly built process. The oldest books hark back to the existence of only one *varṇa*, that of Brāhmaṇa or Deva in the dawning era of generation (Rv. 10. 90. 5; 10. 121. 1; Br. Up. 1. 4. 10. 11; Muṇ. Up. 1. 1). This primogenial *varṇa* or uni-caste society existed only during the figment of Satyayuga recalled to emphasise Aryan solidarity and the bliss that was yet to be conquered against the hostile surroundings of the time. The selfsame literature present a two-caste society, emerged, not from a split of the primogenial body but from the impact with another body or race, viz., the Anārya, Dasyu, Śūdra or Asura (Rv. 1. 5. 1. 8; 1. 103.3; 1. 117. 21; 1. 230. 8; 3. 34. 9; 5. 28. 4; 6. 22. 10; 7. 6. 3; 10. 22. 7f; Av. 19. 62. 3; 19. 7. 8. 1; Br. Up. 3. 3. 1). This is not class war but a war between two families of races, the aboriginal Asura or

Dāsa on the one hand, the aggressor Deva or Ārya on the other.¹

The two-*varṇa* war fought for the possession of the heaven, the earth and the seas, for the charms of women, greed of wealth and lust of power, legendised in innumerable *kathās* and *gāthās*, was later attenuated into the esoteric doctrine of struggle between the soul and the flesh, the sentient and the obtrude, the *sattva* and the *tamas*. This symbolisation of the *devāsura* legend was no doubt an after-thought, inasmuch as the Asuras sometimes beat the wisdom of the Devas and the Devas acquire the secrets from their rivals by methods not very *sāttvic*.² The spiritual antitheses of *āryabhāva* and *dāsabhāva* were moulded into the synthesis of *brahmabhāva*,—‘sarvé varṇā brāhmaṇā brahmajāśca sarvé’ (Sp. 318. 89), ‘sarvaṃ khalvidam brahma sarvaṃ brahmamayam jagat’ (Ch. Up. III. XIV. 1). But the social antitheses found their synthesis not in monism but in pluralism. The casteless or classless millennium was an idea, never a reality. The two-*varṇa* system gave way to a complex hierarchy, the Ārya ramifying into three *varṇas* which were interwoven into countless sub-castes and mixed castes. The Brahman remained a cosmogonical and an ontological conception, it never became a social entity. It did not regulate the social attitude of the so-called Brāhmaṇas and the privileged classes. The theism of Brahmayidyā accordingly remained at the apex of the social pyramid. The popular religion of polytheistic and pseudo-theistic cults permeated the body and the base.

¹ The Ṛg-veda is replete with references to this protracted socio-caste struggle. “Viśvasmād aīmadhamanīndra dasyūn viśo dāsīrakṇo rapraśastaḥ,” 5. 28. 4. Lord Indra! You have deprived these Dasyus of all merits. You have made the Dāsa people blame-worthy. Again,

“Akarmadasyurabhi no amantra ranyabrato amānuṣaḥ tvam tasya mītraban vadhar dāsasya dambhāya,” 10. 22. 7f. We are surrounded by Dasyus, averse to incantations, having other vows and dehumanised. Oh killer of enemies! Kill these inflated Dāsas.

² E.g., Kaca, son of the divine sage Bṛhaspati, steals the secret of elixir (sañjīvanī vidyā) from the Asura sage Śukra by ingratiating with the latter’s daughter.

CHAPTER VI

MATERIAL BACKGROUND OF INDIAN CULTURE

So the pet patriotic tradition of a super-mundane Indian culture does not stand the test of the scientist. In the process of historical evolution, hard material facts are exposed with crude reality. On scientific analysis the glorified missionary and cultural enterprises beyond the Himalayas and the Bay of Bengal reveal similar social forces as worked behind the European migrations to Africa and Asia in the last century or recent Jewish exodus from Germany under pressure of the Nazis.

The abundant instances of sea voyages in the Jātaka stories all relate to commercial ventures in the Eastern Islands or to even baser economic motives.¹ The early diplomatic exchanges between princes were very often accompanied by the exchange of some rare agricultural or commercial goods. It has been held on good authority that most of the embassies from Tamil kings going with tribute to China were merely trading expeditions on joint account of the ambassadors.² The great trek to Java from north-western India was a part of the process of Śaka migration which was stimulated by the anarchical conditions of northern India and by the conversion of the Bay of Cutch into a salt desert accompanied by the diversion of the rivers that watered it. The defeat of the white Huns by Sassa-

¹ One of them narrates how a whole settlement of carpenters consisting of 1,000 families took contracts for houses and furnitures—but after taking a large advance failed to do their job. Harassed by their creditors, they built a ship and slipped off at dead of night with their families into the ocean. IV. 159.

² J. R. A. S. 1869. pp. 490 ff.

nians and Turks in the latter half of the 6th century intercepted their retreat northwards. There were military pressures and defeat from the Maukharis of Kanauj. These were followed by the Turkish advance from the north and Arab raids both by sea (637) and through Persia (650-60), the overthrow of the Buddhist Saharais by their usurping Brāhmanist minister Chach and his persecution of the Jats,—a series of incidents which explain a steady outflow of north-Indians southward from the ports of Sind and Gujarat which was stimulated by the tradition of Javan prosperity.

Prior to the ninth century from when the decline of Buddhism stimulated large-scale migration of the faithful from Bengal and Kalinga to the Eastern Islands,¹ the commercial intercourse of the Buddhist merchants set the stage for missionary undertakings and later for assumption of political supremacy.² In the memoirs of Chinese pilgrims the great Bengal emporium of Tāmralipta appears as a conspicuous Buddhist settlement. Indo-Chinese religious intercourse beginning from the 4th century A.D. was preceded by flourishing Indo-Chinese commerce from the 1st century A.D. This commercial and colonising activity as well as religious intercourse simultaneously reached their height in the time of I-tsing who records the itinerary of sixty Chinese pilgrims and bears witness to prosperous Indian colonies in the Archipelago and the East Asiatic coast which served as convenient halting places for missionaries.

So the spread of Buddhism in the far East with Indian art traditions, the *dharmaghoṣa* and the *dharmavijaya* are ultimately traced to the political and economic circumstances of northern India and neighbouring countries.

¹ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 498.

² Col. Phayre : *History of Burma Race*.

The political intercourse between the Caesars and Kuṣāns as recorded by Roman historians is explained by the fact that "their commercial importance as controllers of one of the main trade routes between the East and the West made the friendship of the Kuṣāns or Śakas who held the Indus valley and Bactria a matter of the highest importance to Rome."¹ These commercial transactions brought arts and ideas in their train. Roman astronomy, Roman coinage, Roman art traditions which inspired Indo-Bactrian plastic art at Gandhāra, all flowed through the streams of Roman gold.

Thus the noble cultural heritage of Greater India dissolves into a *melieu* of material forces operating under the inexorable dictates of Nature. Royal fury, foreign invasion, embroiling debts, loss of wealth and lust of gold,—these motive forces set peoples and races on move. They only carried with them a gilded layer of Indian lore and Indian cultural traditions, the social and cultural values which were impregnated by the class-characteristics in their own country. Literature and art reflected this class stamp of society. Like literature, art was divided, though not very sharply, into two schools,—the royal art executed at Sarnath, Karle and Nasik and the folk art carved at Barhut and Sanchi. The wide activity of the guilds in spheres legislative, political and cultural and their importance recognised in all theoretical works, shows the magnitude of economic influence. In the rise and fall of Empires, the same immutable laws were working. The great dynastic interests were supported by the rise of the Brāhmaṇa and the Setṭhi on one hand and by foreign invasions on the other which threatened big properties and vested interests. In the rise and decay of religions the same principles are revealed. It would not be gratifying for the Holy Buddha

¹ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 490.

to find his immortal message reduced to a medley of silly superficial rituals. He would not be flattered at his devotees worshipping his nails and teeth instead of practising the four *vijjās* and the eight *maggas*. But such is the irresistible march of history. Bereft of the economic interests which called the Buddhist message to fight the existing order with their arms and wealth, Buddhist mission died as a religious force in the country and was transplanted into foreign countries with a new and congenial economic setting.

‘*artha eva pradhānaḥ*’ so says Kauṭilya; *arthamūlau hi dharmakāmāvitī* (Arth. I. 7).

APPENDIX

THE DATE OF THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA

The controversy over the date of the Arthaśāstra attributed to Kauṭilya has of late tended to subside and scholars with rare exceptions are complacently building their theses upon the theory of Vincent Smith and Shamasastri assigning the work to the 4th century B.C. The plea to bring it down to the 3rd century A.D. set forth by Jolly in the introduction to his edition of the Arthaśāstra and by Winternitz in the third volume of the History of Indian Literature has had no wide acceptance and was weakened by the refutation of Shamasastri and N. N. Law. In an article in the J.R.A.S., 1929 (pp. 77-89) it was shown by another scholar that the comparison of certain expressions and passages in the Arthaśāstra with Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita on the one hand and with Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā and the Laṃkāvatārasūtra on the other placed the book with tolerable certainty between the beginning of the Christian era and about 150 A.D., or at most 250 A.D. In the Political History of Raychaudhuri 300 B.C. and 100 A.D. are taken as the upper and lower limits. Without any pretension to speak the last word on the subject a few clues to the chronological mystery may be gathered which expose the 4th century theory to considerable amount of criticism and incline the balance of evidence in favour of the 1st century after Christ.

The priority of the Arthaśāstra to the Smṛtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya has been sought to be proved by comparison of their social and political systems. This is based on the false assumptions that the theories in the Arthaśāstra

correlate to facts and institutions without fail and that there was absolute uniformity of beliefs and practices in Magadha and the Brahmarṣideśa or land of Delhi and the Eastern Punjab where the sacred institutes were born. The points of analogy moreover are not less if not more outspoken than those of disparity. As between the Arthaśāstra and Manu, Yājñavalkya and Nārada affinity is very close with regard to the laws of hire and contract, of debt, deposit, witness, gift, stolen property and ownership; robbery, defamation and intimidation; assault, marital rights and proprietary rights of women and inheritance. Manu and Yājñavalkya attest the fixing of price of merchandise. There is also similarity with Manu on the existence of private and communal ownership of land side by side, acceptance of a day's work from common artisans in lieu of taxes, salt as a royal monopoly among other things (land-grants dating from the time of the Śātavāhanas frequently confirm that salt was a royal monopoly under their rule) and reference to the Magadha among mixed castes. The argument that the Arthaśāstra knows only four kinds of slaves while Manu seven and Nārada fifteen was put forth from oversight for the Arthaśāstra distinctly refers to the (1) *udaradāsa*—born slave, (2) *krīta*—purchased, (3) *āhitaka*—acquired by mortgage, (4) *sakṛdātmādhātā*—voluntary enslavement, (5) *daṇḍapraṇīta*—enslaved by court-decree, (6) *grhajāta*—born in the house, (7) *dāyāgata*—acquired by inheritance from ancestors, (8) *dhvajāhṛta*—captured in war or raids. It is moreover pointed out that slaves might be acquired in other ways that are left unspecified (*labdha-kṛitānām anyatamāni*). Thus the Arthaśāstra list is wider than Manu's (VIII. 415) and embraces almost all the varieties cited by Nārada (V. 26-28) only under more numerous sub-heads except a few which may have been later development. It is most unsafe to derive chronological conclusions from comparison between *śāstra* literature which

not only ignore facts on many instances but represent theories and institutions of a much earlier age than the one when they are composed. Still the closer resemblance of the Arthaśāstra to the later *dharmaśāstras* than to the earlier *dharmaśūtras* of Gautama, Bodhāyana, etc., cannot be left entirely out of account.

A conspicuous example of this analogy is found in the currency system described in the three types of literature and in Pali works.

Commenting on Suttavibhanga, the Pārājika, 11-16, Buddhaghosa says that in Bimbisāra's time in Rājagaha :—

1 Kahāpaṇa	=	20 māsakas
1 pāda	=	5 māsakas
1 Kahāpaṇa	=	4 pādas

This *kahāpaṇa* however, he warns, is the ancient *nīla-kahāpaṇa* not the Rudradāmaka—a depreciated standard adopted and followed from Rudradāman's time.

Sāriputta again in his commentary on the passage of Buddhaghosa, explains that this Rudradāmaka is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a *nīlakahāpaṇa*.

From a comparison of the weight of the silver *dharāṇa* as given by Manu, Yājñavalkya and Viṣṇu and of the Rudradāmaka *kahāpaṇa* it is found that they bear the same ratio in weight as the *nīlakahāpaṇa* to the latter, so that the *dharāṇa* and the *nīlakahāpaṇa* may be identified denoting the same class of silver coins.¹ It is to be noted that while Gautama and Kātyāyana, like the Pali texts retain the term *kārṣāpaṇa* for silver as well as copper coins, Manu, Yājñavalkya and Viṣṇu reserve *kārṣāpaṇa* only for copper coins and invent the separate term *dharāṇa* for silver coins. Probably the Pali term *nīlakahāpaṇa* was devised to remove this source of confusion.

¹ See C. D. Chatterji's article on Numismatic Data in Pali Literature in B. C. Law's *Buddhist Studies*, pp. 424 ff.

Now the Arthaśāstra agrees with the later law-books in this respect. Its silver coin is *dharāṇa* and its copper coin *kārṣāpaṇa*. It also agrees with Manu, Yājñavalkya and Viṣṇu in respect of the prescribed weight of the standard gold and copper money,—the *suvarṇa* and the *paṇa* or *kārṣāpaṇa*—but differs as regards the weight of the standard silver coin—the *dharāṇa*. This difference may be easily accounted for. The prescribed weight of *dharāṇa* in the Arthaśāstra closely approximates to the prescribed weight of the *suvarṇa* and *paṇa* the margin being explicable by the fact that since the weight of the *gaurasarṣapa* and the *guṇja* or *kṛṣṇala* might slightly vary in different parts of India, the ratio between the two given in the Smṛtis may not be the exact standard. It seems that the author of the Arthaśāstra aimed at a currency reform whereby the same weight standard could be prescribed for the three classes of coins like many other projected reforms in other spheres of administration.¹

Shamasastri claims that the *kārṣāpaṇa* which according to Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya was in earlier times equivalent to 16 *māśas*, indicated the Arthaśāstra's equation of 1 *suvarṇa* or *karṣa* to 16 *māśas*. He has confused between the weight standard of *karṣa* (to which conformed the standard gold coin *suvarṇa*) with the silver money called *kārṣāpaṇa*. In the Arthaśāstra's table 1 *karṣa* = 16 *māśas* = 80 *guṇjas* or *kṛṣṇalas* (or *ratīs*) according to Smṛti nomenclature while a *kārṣāpaṇa* weighs 56 grains or 32 *kṛṣṇalas*.² The *kārṣāpaṇa* of Patañjali may of course be identified with the *dharāṇa* of the Arthaśāstra which is equated with 16 silver *māśas*. But this equation is repeated

C. D. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, pp. 423 ff.

² The average weight of the Rudradāmaka *kahāpaṇa* or old silver punch-marked coins is 42 grains. Therefore 1 *nīlakahāpaṇa* = $\frac{42 \times 4}{3}$ grs. = 32 *kṛṣṇalas* or *ratīs*, 1 *ratī* being approximately equal to 1.75 grs. C. D. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, pp. 423 ff.

with Manu (VII. 135-36), Yājñavalkya (1. 364) and Ṛiṣṇu (IV. 11-12) and in this as in many other respects the author of the Arthaśāstra may have merely lined up with contemporary Smṛti literature without caring whether the system described prevailed in his time actually or only in tradition ; or the system may have been revived from the 1st century A.D.

The standard gold coin in the Arthaśāstra is *suvarṇa* which in earlier literature is *niṣka*, *śatamāna* and *kṛṣṇala* and in later ones *dināra*. But no chronological demarcation can be drawn between the *suvarṇa* and the *dināra*. The *dināra* never became a standard token coin all over India though it is found here and there from the 1st century A.D., while on the other hand the *suvarṇa* continues to be the standard as late as in Usavadāta's Nasik inscriptions equalling 35 *kārṣāpaṇas*. Thus the mention of *suvarṇa* as standard gold coin places the Arthaśāstra positively later than the stage when the *niṣka* was the current coin as represented in the Epics and the Jātakas, but not necessarily earlier than the 1st century B.C. when the *dināra* began to obtain currency in parts of India.

The comparison of the political and social theories of the Arthaśāstra with the fragments of Megasthenes bespeaks a similar wrong mode of approach towards the chronological problem as its comparison with the legal injunctions. A political philosopher is no historian. Had Kauṭilya been the maker of the Maurya Empire and founder of the dynasty as well as the author of the monumental treatise it is of course likely that his pet theories would have been worked out in practice and Megasthenes' testimony agreed in many details over them. But Megasthenes differs no less than he agrees. He refers to a good war-practice that crops and lands are not destroyed by belligerents ; the Arthaśāstra definitely enjoins such devastation (IX. 1). His affirmation that infliction of injury on royal artisans or

evasion of municipal tithe entailed death sentence is not found in the Arthaśāstra's penal code—which is more akin to that of Manu and Yājñavalkya. The evidences of Megasthenes on writing, on famine and on usury though faulty, contain an indirect truth which substantially militates against the Arthaśāstra.

While these conflicting evidences are dismissed on the score of the rashness of Megasthenes' statements the observation on non-existence of slavery is adduced as tallying with the liberal rules of the Arthaśāstra on slaves. But in the Arthaśāstra's time there were *mleccha* slaves who are summarily passed over, but who obviously far outnumbered the *ārya* slaves and for whom there was no mitigation. Megasthenes therefore seems to have either made a statement without knowledge of facts and consequently of no worth, or the *mleccha* slaves must not have been so numerous in his day as in the time of the Arthaśāstra.

Megasthenes and archaeological excavations show that Pāṭaliputra was surrounded by a timber palisade and an outer ditch. The Arthaśāstra is much against the use of wood because "fire finds a happy abode in it" and wants three ditches to be dug round a fort (II. 3).

The supposition that the Arthaśāstra reflects pre-Buddhistic society does not stand in the face of the clear reference to *stūpa* (XIII. 2) and to the *śākyas* and *ājīvikas*. The proscription of these people along with the *śūdra* and the *pravrājita* (III. 10) in ceremonials devoted to the gods and the manes is characteristic of the movement of Brāhmanical revival which is held to have begun from about the time of the Suṅgas. The use of the word *śākya* to denote a *bhikṣu* is of special significance. We do not come across such use earlier than in Kuṣān inscriptions where the word *śākyabhikṣu* is commonplace¹ and later in the Divyāvadāna.

¹ For references, see Epigraphia Indica, Vol. X, p. 222.

So far for the weakness of the 4th century theory. There are positive evidences of more weight which point to the 1st century A.D.

The strongest point in support of the post-Christian origin of the Arthaśāstra is the structure of the text. It is striking that it not only expounds a methodology of treating a subject which is foreign to earlier works but actually and scrupulously follows that methodology (*tantrayukti*). The medical treatise of Suśruta which is assigned to about the 2nd century A.D. and the Pali works *Nettipakaraṇa* and *Peṭakopadesa* belonging to about the 1st century A.D. follow the same order and expound it just in the same manner. Suśruta in particular agrees with the Arthaśāstra in definition and even in the number of the *tantrayuktis* which is 32 (*Uttaratantra* LXV). The nomenclature is also the same except that for the Arthaśāstra's '*upamānam*' and '*uttarapakṣa*' Suśruta substitutes '*anekanta*' and '*nirṇaya*' respectively. The definitions resemble not only in idea but in many cases also in language. A few parallels may be quoted.

Arthaśāstra	Suśruta
1. Yam-artham-adhikṛtyo-cyate tad-adhikaraṇam.	Same.
2. Śāstrasya prakaraṇā-nupūrvī-vidhānam.	Prakaraṇānupūrvyā-bhīhitam vidhānam.
3. Vākyayojanā yogah	Yena vākyam yujyate sa yogah.
4. Samāsa-vākyam-uddeśah.	Samāsa-kathanam-uddeśah.
5. Vyāsavākyam nirddeśah.	Vistāravacanam nirddeśah.
6. Yad-anuktaṁ-arthād-āpadyate sārthāpattiḥ.	Yad-akīrtitaṁ-arthād-āpadyate sārthāpattiḥ.
7. Ubhayato-hetumānarthasamśayah.	Ubhaya-hetudarśanam samśayah.

Arthaśāstra

Suśruta

- | | |
|--|---|
| 8. Yena vākyam samāpyate sa
vākyaśeṣah. | Yena padenā-nuktena
vākyam samāpyate sa
vākyaśeṣah. |
| 9. Paravākyam-aprati-
siddham-anumatam. | Paramatam-aprati-
siddham-anumatam. |
| 10. Atiśayavarṇanā vyākhyānam. | Atiśayopavarṇanam
vyākhyānam. |
| 11. Abhipluta-vyapakarṣanam-
apavargah. | Abhivyāpyāpakarṣanam-
apavargah, etc., etc. |

That Suśruta's definitions are a little more elaborate and precise is easily explained by the improvement undergone in a few intervening decades. It may be noted that later literature do not formulate but simply follow the method and in them its divisions evolve and multiply as for example in the *Saṃhitā* of Caraka which follows 34 sub-divisions (*Siddhisthāna*, XII).¹

The reference to Cīna in the *Arthaśāstra* is a distinct pointer to an age much later than the year 249 B.C. when the Ts'in dynasty came to rule in China whence the name Cīna was introduced in India. The significant name appears in no Indian literature of proved earlier date. The earliest Pali reference to Cīna and Cīnapaṭṭa occurs in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Apadāna* (1. 14 ; 406, 14), the two Pali compilations that were not included in the canon earlier than in the 1st century B.C. The instances in the *Epics* are evidently later interpolations as is further proved by the different readings in available recensions. To parade their geographical and racial knowledge the pedants of a later age introduced the Cīnas, the Śakas, the Yavanas (sometimes even the Romakas and the Pārasikas) and other generic terms indicating foreign barbarians along with the indigenous barbarians who existed from an older time and

¹ See B. M. Barua : *Old Brāhmi Inscriptions*, p. 285.

had place in the original text. These Cīnas inhabited the borderlands along the Bāhlika, the Tibetan valleys and the Prāgjyotiṣa and possibly implied the Mongoloid races percolating from the Himālayan ranges or the people who acknowledged some sort of suzerainty under the Chinese empire (Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 44. 12-14; Mahābhārata, II. 26. 9; 51, 23; III. 176; VI. 9). Their chief produce was skin as well as woollen textile and fabrics of jute and silk in which they specialized along with the people of Bāhlī (pramāṇa-rāga-sparśādyam bāhlī-cīna-samudbhavam. Aūrṇaṇca rāṅkavaṇcaiva paṭajam kīṭajantathā, Mbh. II.51. 26). In the Arthaśāstra Sāmūra, Cīnasi and Sāmūli are skins procured from Vāhlava which according to Bhaṭṭaswāmī is the name of a country on the Himālayan borders; and the silk and jute fabrics have become famous Chinese luxuries in Indian market (tayā kauṣeyam cīnapaṭṭaśca cīnabbūmijā vyākhyātāh II. 11). This is reminiscent of the verse in the Buddhavaṃsa, XXIV. II, which runs as : 'pallunnam cīnapaṭṭaṇca koseyyam kambalam pi ca.' The statements of the Mahābhārata, the Arthaśāstra and the Buddhavaṃsa are remarkably parallel and reflect approximately the same age which in the case of the Buddhavaṃsa cannot be earlier than the 1st century B.C. From Chinese and Indian sources it is definitely known that this flourishing intercourse between China and India began from the dawn of the Christian era.

No less significant is the reference to Ceylonese sandal as 'pārasamudraka' (II. 11, Bhaṭṭaswāmī's commentary). In the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea of which the date is conclusively fixed near about the 6th decade of the 1st century A.D. and in Pliny's Natural History which also belongs to the same century, Ceylon is referred to as Palisimundu.¹ Now Megasthenes knows Ceylon as

¹ For the identification of *Pārasamudra* with *Palisimundu* see Raychaudhuri's note in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVIII.

Taprobane. The same name is seen in Aśoka's Edicts. The Rāmāyaṇa, however, knows it not only as Tāmraparṇī but also as Sīṃhala and Laṃkā. Had the name Pārasamudra been in vogue in the time of the original composition of the Rāmāyaṇa which is not far removed from the beginning of the Maurya Empire¹ it would most probably have been used by the author of the Epic. The Arthaśāstra is thus acquainted with a name that seems to have existed in the 1st century A.D. but not earlier.

The industrial guilds in the Arthaśāstra are a constant source of menace and dangerous rival to royal authority. Villages and agricultural operations are protected against their interference. They supply militia to the royal force and are alternately wooed or intrigued against by kings. They serve as state banks and by means of sinister cartels and cornerings influence price. This extraordinary growth of the *śreṇīs* into an incalculable political and economic force is suggested to have been a later development by a comparative study of the earlier and later Smṛtis and post-Christian inscriptions. In Manu and Yājñavalkya the cartel and corner systems are found in full swing, an unwholesome factor in the market raising and lowering price by their machinations. The banking function of the *śreṇīs* referred to in the Arthaśāstra (V. 2; VII. 11) is characteristic of a later age of thriving money transactions and speedy circulation of capital, and the earliest evidence we have of such operations is in Usavadāta's Nasik Inscription assigned to the 2nd century A.D.

The emergency tax or sur-tax of *praṇaya* (V. 2) appears in the Arthaśāstra and in Rudradāman's Junagadh Rock Inscription but in no revenue or fiscal list of earlier literature or inscriptions.² What is more striking is that this levy is mentioned in the Arthaśāstra without reference to

¹ Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I.

² See Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Edn., p. 8.

any controversy by the author, a levy on the justice of which there might well be some dispute. It may have been that the Śakas first introduced it and the earlier teachers were strangers to the tax or the distinct name by which it was known.

The Arthaśāstra inaugurates the important system of specifying dates in terms of regnal years and months, fortnights and days of an official year (Rājavarṣaṃ māsah pakṣo divasaśca vyuṣṭam II. 6). 'But so far as the written records of Asoka hitherto discovered go he has nowhere mentioned the dates in terms of the year, month and day. It is in the Kuṣāṇa records that the dates have been stated for the first time in terms of the regnal year, and in that of the month and the day of an official year, cf. 'Devaputrasya Kaniṣkasya saṃ 5 : he 1 di 1.' The specification of the date in term of the regnal year, and the month, half-month and day of an official year as enjoined in the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra is a convention which is met with for the first time in the earliest Sanskrit inscription of Rudradāman (A.D. 150): 'Rudradāmano varṣe dvisaptatitame (72) Mārgaśīrṣabahulapratipadāyām' The convention once established was adhered to in later Sanskrit inscriptions.'

In the state contemplated in the Arthaśāstra Sanskrit is the official language. It is almost an established fact that from the time of the Maurya Empire right up to the beginning of the Christian era various forms of Prākṛt remained popular and official language while Sanskrit was confined to the cultured few. This is suggested by coin-legends and inscriptions² as well as by the rise of the two famous grammatical works, that of Patañjali in the north and that of Sarvavarman in the south who moreover preludes his book (Kātantra) by quoting an anecdote to illustrate how ignorant even the kings had become of the sacred language.

¹ B. M. Barua : *Asoka Edicts in New Light*, p. 75.

² See Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India*, pp. 134-36, 317-18.

The grammatical works heralded the revival and popularization of Sanskrit to which the Arthaśāstra is a clear testimony.

The Arthaśāstra shows intimate acquaintance with the Purāṇas and with Epic literature not only in its main plot but in many of the subsidiary *ākhyānas* such as those of Nala, Vātāpi, Māṇḍavya, Dāṇḍakya, etc. and in the theories of the great preceptors and theoreticians who are represented therein. As pointed out by Jolly most of the authorities in the field of political and social sciences quoted in the Arthaśāstra figure in the Mahābhārata and these warn against fixing the age of its composition as high as 325 B.C.

These are not to deny that the Arthaśāstra contains much that must be thrown back to the 4th century B.C. or much earlier. As has been pointed out already, this is the general characteristic of *śāstra* literature that they present an ideal rather than real state of society and often pass earlier opinions as their own. Unlike the Mānava Dharmaśāstra the Arthaśāstra seems to be the composition of a single author but it does not follow that all he wrote was his own. In fact, he acknowledges his debt to his predecessors, a long list of whom frequently appears in the book. And in the process of taking from earlier authorities with or without acknowledgment theories and practices crept in the text which did not belong to the author's time.

It is tempting to synchronise a great treatise like the Arthaśāstra with the foundation of the biggest empire of ancient India. But the chicanery and intrigue, the ruthless police methods, the nightmare of sedition, the unscrupulous use of poison and women reflect not the formation of a stable empire, rather its bankruptcy and decadence. The vicious theory of circles of states speaks of the *mātsyanyāya* or primitive anarchy among bundles of independent and semi-independent statelings each with unlimited territorial ambition coalescing and splitting with

kaleidoscopic variety, faithlessness to allies and disrespect for treaties betray an absence of political morality which evoked scathing denunciation from Bāṇa the representative poet of another empire. The political philosophy of the Arthaśāstra fits not so well with Maurya imperialism as with an age of turmoil when local principalities were dissolving in internecine war.

A possible explanation of the testimony to Kauṭilyan authorship in later literature may be this. Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta may not have been altogether a fictitious figure as supposed by Johnston¹ and Jolly. He is known both to the Brāhmanical tradition of the Mudrārākṣasa and Viṣṇupurāṇa and to the Buddhist tradition of the Mahāvamsa and Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa. But had he been the man behind the throne the historians of Alexander who wrote not solely upon Megasthenes' record but utilized plenty of materials now lost to us—Justin, Quintius Curtius, Arrian, Strabo and Plutarch for example,—would not have dismissed him with silent indifference while naming Candragupta and Nanda. Shamasastri fails to note that no literature earlier than from the 4th century A.D. mentions Kauṭilya or ascribes to him either the destruction of the Nandas or the composition of the Arthaśāstra or even quotes from the book. The Milindapañho, a work believed to be compiled about the 1st century A.D., speaks of Nanda, his general Bhaddasāla, their great battle with Candragupta and of the heavy carnage on both sides but not a word about Kauṭilya. Probably he was boosted by orthodox Brāhmaṇas during the zenith of the revivalist movement under the Guptas and it was sought to prove that the king, a Kṣatriya or a Śūdra, was a mere protégé of the Brāhmaṇa chancellor. The claim was bolstered up by the ascription of a masterly digest of

¹ J.R.A.S., 1929.

political science to his authorship. The real author who hailed from a later age, remained obscure and was forgotten, liberally borrowed from earlier savants among whom Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya was one and may be, the chief, just as several other collections of political maxims were issued under the name of Cāṇakya held or supposed to be a crafty politician of antiquity ; and this may be a plausible explanation of the social and political institutions of widely separated ages reflected in the floating doctrines incorporated systematically in the book.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

P. 46 L. 29. The king is received by *grāmanīs* along with *ugras*, *pratyenasas* and *sūtas* who keep the guest house ready with food and drink (Br. Up. 4. 3. 37).

P. 76 L. 11. Flesh of the ox is prescribed directly in the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad (6. 4. 18).

P. 90 L. 30. Earlier literature speaks of 10 kinds of cereals (*dhānya*) grown in rural areas, viz. *vrīhi*, *yava*, *tila*, *māsa*, *aṇu*, *priyaṅgu*, *godhūma*, *masura*, *khalvā*, *khalakula* (*kulattha*) (Br. Up. 6. 3. 13).

P. 361 L. 4. According to Associated Press news of 19th June, 1945, more than 100 silver punch-marked coins belonging to the 4th century B.C. have been found in the Gorakhpur district and acquired by the U. P. provincial museum.

P. 482 L. 10. The Upaniṣads give an earlier glimpse into this epic rivalry centering round the issue of animal sacrifice. The priestly and orthodox party upholding animal sacrifice had their stronghold in the Kuru-Pañcāla country, the heterodoxy led by the Kṣatriyas was ascendant in the eastern countries of Kāśī, Kośala, Magadha and Videha which are in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa forbidden lands for the pure Brāhmaṇa of the Northern Aryan extraction. The Brāhmaṇas there, it is said, had lost their dignity because of submission to the Kṣatriyas. In the Brhadāranyaka and the Chandogya, Brāhmaṇa sages are represented as defeated in philosophical disputes with, or as learning philosophical truths from Kṣatriya kings. The culmination of this hostility on ideological plane is seen in the court of Janaka at Videha where Yājñavalkya, a Brāhmaṇa of the East had a hospitable seat to defeat in polemics the orthodoxy of the North and establish his thesis of Brahmanavidyā.

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